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CURRENT HISTORY



VOL. XIX., No. 2

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A WORLD SURVEY

By Twelve Eminent Professors of History

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Woman's Changing Morality

By Alyse Gregory

Germany: *By Hans Delbrueck*

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Socialism in Spain

Mexican Fascisti

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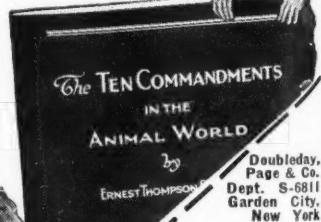
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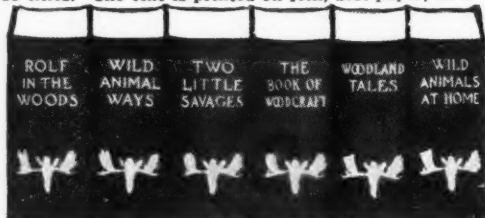
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CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLES

AN article appeared in our November issue entitled "The Changing Morality of Women," written by Miss Alyse Gregory, who is prominent in the ranks of feminists. Her implications, in the judgment of the editor, were misleading, as was also her belief that a more tolerant attitude prevails among women in general in matters relating to lapses in morals. The contribution was printed because it was regarded as the expression of an important group of women thinkers. Though strongly dissenting from the opinions of the writer, the editor nevertheless felt that this judgement on a question so important was a matter of contemporary history. Herewith we print a dissent from Mrs. Elizabeth Tilton, Chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Parents' and Teachers' Association, one of the most influential bodies of American women, and in a subsequent issue there will appear a contribution in reply to Miss Gregory, written by a distinguished woman whose opportunities for observation are unsurpassed:

Every one must be glad to see the American woman, in the person of Miss Alyse Gregory, in her article, "The Changing Morality of Woman," showing signs of real thinking, something that our modern world with its big city population fights shy of. Miss Gregory has a facile mind and a fast flowing pen. I, however, differ somewhat in her interpretation of history and in her conclusion that the modern independence of women is possibly tending to deprive her of her previous regard for chastity.

To me history shows that as regards sex the American woman is distinctly a product of her Teutonic forebears, Christianity being somewhat though not altogether an aside. The early Christians were Jews. Women held a position among them fairly good as those times went. But primitive Christianity among the Jews soon became extinct because what these primitive Christians wanted did not happen, namely, the immediate return of Jesus and the setting up here on earth of the Kingdom of the Jews, regarded as the Millennium. What existed was the echo of the Christian movement in the Greco-Roman world—a dying world. It had thought till it could go no further by sheer thinking. The Greeks went just as far as good guessing could go.

It was left for our modern world to go further by the development of science. Christianity then took on the complexion of a world that was spent and that put its best strength on the world to come. The way to reach the world to come, in the minds of a senile race, is naturally to abjure the pleasures of the body. It was not Christianity as conceived by the Jews that gave woman her character of a thing to be despised, but the dying Greco-Roman world influencing with its moribund emotion the Christianity that had floated across from Asia Minor. Chrysostom was neither Christian nor Jew when he said of woman that she was "a necessary evil, a natural temptation, a domestic peril, a deadly

fascination and a painted ill." He was simply a dying pagan too spent to take pleasure in normal healthy ideas.

Far in the North was a race that was not spent—the Teutons. No one who reads Tacitus can fail to recognize in his description of those Northern women a description of the present-day American woman by and large. These brave and independent creatures are pictured as following their husbands into battle and sucking their wounds for them. Unchastity is the terrible sin, and for this offense a member is expelled from the tribe. Conditions in the North were very hard, and the man was forced to secure from the woman tremendous assistance. To obtain this he had to develop her by treating her well, listening to her and allowing her a great deal of independence. The soft life of the East under warm skies, where conditions of agriculture are easily developed, produced a voluptuousness and a subservience that the Northern life could not afford. These Teutons overran the Greco-Roman world. They overran the pale Christianity of that dying pagan world. The woman as described by Chrysostom begins to disappear as the Middle Ages and the Northern tribes advance and the Virgin Mary begins to appear in all her pitying gentleness and ecstatic nobility. Worship of woman increases until about 1200 A. D. Dante gives us the beginning of chivalry. Woman on a pedestal appears. She really is the Northern woman tempered with Latin poetry, but at heart a chaste Teuton headed for independence. So she has gone on winning side by side with men, first with the middle class and then with the working class, her civil and political rights. Men have blazed the trail for wider education and a broader franchise for themselves only to give them a little later to their womankind.

To say now, because woman has taken the last step that gives her the ballot, she will lose that something that has held her true to type, the independence, the respectability, the chastity of her Teuton forebears, is to misread history. What Miss Gregory sees as a prominent trait in our modern world, the disregard of the canons of chastity, is a blemish which is purely local. This trait is almost negligible in the country as a whole. The chief characteristics of the country come from the Bible classes of the South and the prairie-made women and men of the West. It is not the sex instinct that is driving these women into business and causing them to seek men with whom they can live unmarried. If they go into business, it is because they, too, want to partake of the intoxication of their time, big business, efficiently carried on and well paid. That is the pre-occupation of Americans today, and American women like to be in it just as American men. This is what inspires the average American girl of today. She likes the efficiency and she needs the money that a real business house can give her.

New York is not America. It is exotic, attracting the artist and the literary set. These always break the traces. But even in New York, crowded, impossible New York, where space and sun become as precious as gold, this sharing of homes between men and women does not necessarily mean a loss of chastity, but often a better control of it. It may mean more Teutonism, not less. With exceptions, the emancipated American girl, stenographer or secretary in a big business house, has greater con-

Continued in Back Advertising Section

CURRENT HISTORY

VOL. XIX.

NOVEMBER, 1923

No. 2

Monthly Survey of World Events..

THE ASSOCIATES IN CURRENT HISTORY 177

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, HARRY T. COLLINGS,
ARTHUR LYON CROSS, RICHARD HEATH DABNEY,
WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS, CHARLES W. HACKETT,
ALBERT HOWE LYBYER, FREDERIC A. OGG, ALEX-
ANDER PETRUNKEVITCH, WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD,
LILY ROSS TAYLOR, PAYSON J. TREAT.

League of Nations Works for Disarmament....DENIS P. MYERS 180

Europe's Indictment of America.....CHARLES SAROLEÁ 185

America's Helping Hand to Europe..GEORGE WHARTON PEPPER 192
United States Senator from Pennsylvania

America's Duty to Europe Today.....CHARLES SEYMOUR 195

Ireland Faces the Future.....SHAW DESMOND 202

Lord Morley's Place in History.....H. W. MASSINGHAM 209

Fate of German Republic in Balance.....HANS DELBRUECK 215

The Bavarian Menace to German Unity.....PAUL GIERASCH 221

France's African Empire.....HENRI MARTIN BARZUN 230

Socialism in Spain.....PRIMITIVO SANJURJO 237

Danish Progress Under Christian X..IVAN CALVIN WATERBURY 245

Albania's Rise to Nationhood.....LORETA RUSH 249

The Turk as a Business Man.....MUFTI-ZADE K. ZIA BEY 253

The Mexican Fascisti.....CARLETON BEALS 257

Free Speech Suppressed in Bolivia.....CLAUDE O. PIKE 262

The United States Paramount in the Caribbean..ELBRIDGE COLBY 267

Philippine Progress Under American Rule..CECILIA W. FARWELL 275

The Filipinos' Demand for Independence.....WALTER ROBB 281

The Foreign Grip on China.....FRANK H. HEDGES 288

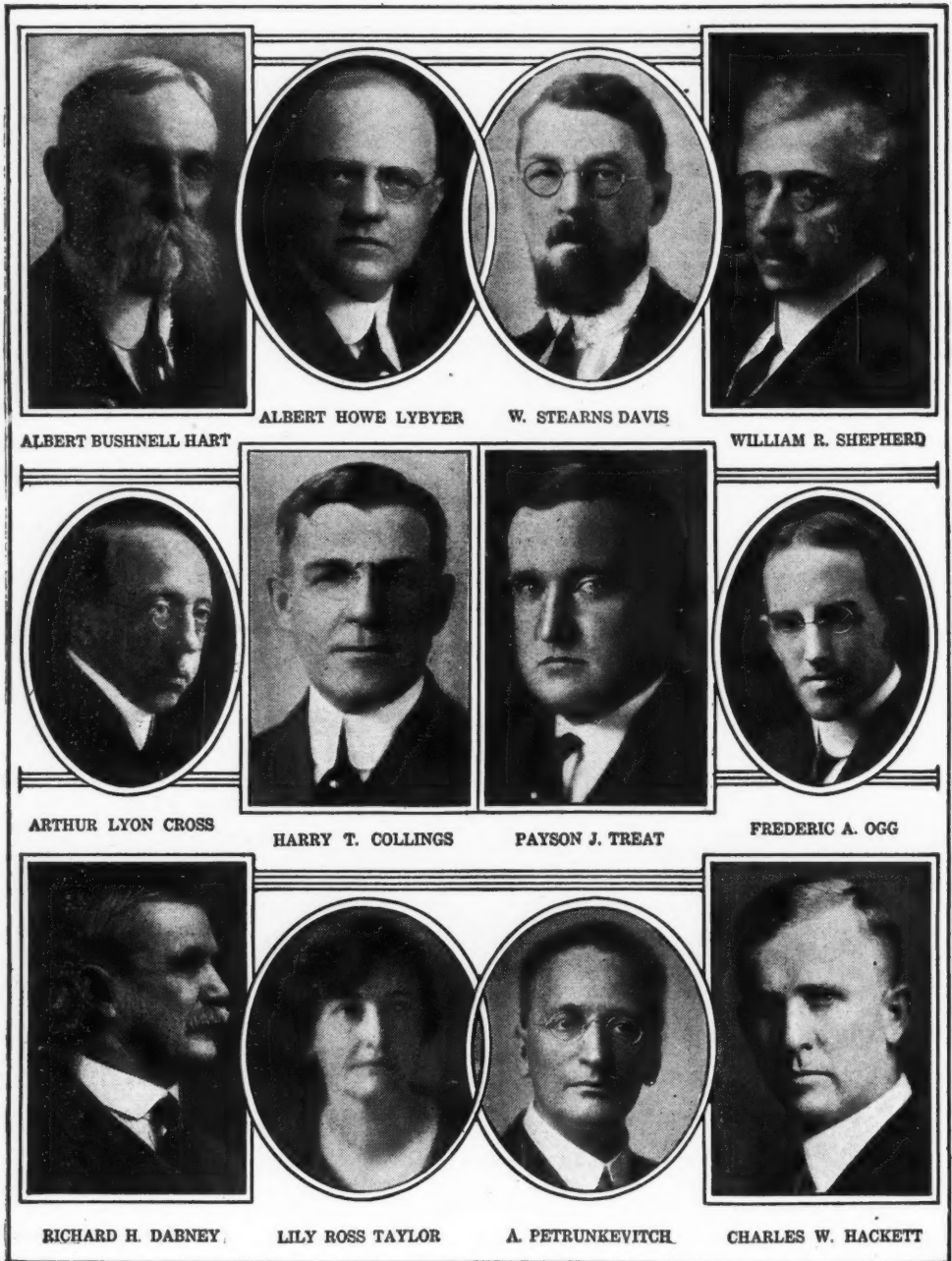
The Changing Morality of Woman.....ALYSE GREGORY 295

Women in German Politics.....ADELE SCHREIBER 300

The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Typewriter....ALAN C. REILEY 304

Insulin—Science's New Cure for Diabetes.....JAMES A. TOBEY 310

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MONTHLY SURVEY OF WORLD EVENTS

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THE CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE with this issue takes a forward step in recording contemporary history throughout the world. The magazine has formed a Board of Associates consisting of twelve distinguished American historians, chosen from the Departments of History of twelve leading American universities, who will cover the history of the world, month by month, by regions. For this purpose the nations of Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas have been divided into twelve regions, and each historian will chronicle the history of each month's events in the countries assigned to him.

These regions are classified under a flexible system embracing (a) considerations of political unity, even where the component States are widely separated (viz., the British Empire, under which fall Ireland, Canada, India, and so forth); (b) geographical propinquity, unity of language (the United States and Canada, South America, France and Belgium, Germany and Austria, Mexico and Central America, and so forth); (c) geographical propinquity and political interrelations (Turkey and the Near East; Eastern Europe and the Balkans, Russia and the Baltic States, the Far East, and so forth); (d)

small detached European States or groups of States, neutrals during the war, excluded from the concert of European powers in the ensuing peace and geographically or politically isolated (minor European States, viz., Spain, Holland, Switzerland, Scandinavian countries, and so forth). Italy, for obvious reasons, stands alone, and the same may be said of Africa.

The national and international events of each month, under this arrangement, will thus be recorded and interpreted by specialists who are pre-eminently qualified for the task, by reason of close familiarity with the political, social and economic conditions in the regions treated. They have wide international equipment and scholarly attainments. They have special qualifications arising from former residence in the countries treated, enjoy personal acquaintance with leading statesmen of these nations, and are all distinguished in their respective fields. The record that they will present for each issue of this magazine will be authentic, derived from fundamental sources, and, above all, impartial.

The sweep of events throughout the world since 1914 has transformed the

whole complexion of national and international relations. The cataclysm caused by the World War has brought an aftermath of ruin and destruction in Europe; the consequences have been acute in the Far East, and have profoundly affected the Western Hemisphere. Slowly and blindly, devastated Europe is climbing upward to social and economic reconstruction. But many foci of potential conflagration still remain to give disquiet. The Franco-German drama is only one of these post-war phenomena. The victory of Turkey over Greece and her diplomatic triumphs over the allied nations have echoed throughout all Islam. The Succession States that arose on the ruins of Austria-Hungary and Turkey have inherited complex racial problems and conflicts due to the annexation of alien peoples. Soviet Russia, vast and enigmatic, looms on the horizon of Eastern

Europe, half facing toward the still more enigmatic East.

Africa has been shaken by the reappportionment of its vast domains. Throughout South America, also, the repercussion of the tremendous changes in international relations has created new problems. In our own country a new phase of world issues has arisen, which is reflected in economic, political and social life, and which radically affects the interests and thought of the American people.

Never was there a time in the latter-day history of the world when clear, authoritative and impartial recording of authenticated facts was so urgently needed. It is the intention of this magazine to give its readers such a record—a record furnished by a board of unprejudiced professional experts, whose work will foster the cause of universal truth.

EVENTS OF THE MONTH IN THE UNITED STATES

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Professor of Government, Harvard University; Chairman of the Board of the Associates in CURRENT HISTORY

IN this initial number of a new service, designed to present from month to month a survey of the things most significant in the current history of the various countries of the world, the first necessity is to decide what kind of things are vital. A choice must be made. This is especially true for our own nation, for the daily and weekly press of the United States record numberless events and discussions which are at least important enough to print once.

The simplest method of compiling a monthly summary would be merely to rearrange the most outstanding occurrences in the form of annals. Those items connected with large figures such as the President, Mayors of cities, college and railroad Presidents, labor leaders and owners of swift race horses, would come to the surface in such a process; and in the forefront would stand the passing events that seem for the moment big.

That basis of choice is not broad enough for the purpose of the Monthly Survey which will henceforth appear in *CURRENT HISTORY*. It cannot be limited to an enu-

meration of the main events, or to a chronology of statutes, proclamation and public statements, or to a list of earthquakes, hold-ups and fires, or to annals of the comings and goings of great men. Such summaries, however convenient to the searcher for exact knowledge, are not surveys, but chronicles. To make a real survey it is necessary to register, out of the multitudinous stars of our national firmament of men and women, only the brightest; and those stars must be grouped into constellations.

At the start must be taken into consideration the double personality of our country; first the individuals, then groups and combinations of all sorts. The United States, more than any other country in the world, shows a variety of interests and organizations. First, a triple government—the nation, forty-eight States and more than a thousand cities, each with its various branches day by day setting down their records to make history. Within these three geographical groups exist vast social organizations—churches, fraternities, learned societies, commercial bodies, labor

unions, schools and universities, race organizations, reform societies, military and veteran societies—all deciding and recording things of moment to the nation.

These aggregations of human beings are engaged in a series of issues, problems and controversies which are the material around which political and social activity clusters. Such are immigration, the closed shop, agricultural depression, the cost of coal, railroad and steamship transportation, and prohibition. All of these issues give rise to difficulties and adjustments which are part of a survey of the nation's life.

Besides these political and social issues we must never leave out of sight the intellectual part of American life, education, literature, the drama, public works and buildings, and great engineering projects. Yet space is limited, and there is room in this brief survey for only the most essential matters in a month's life of 120,000,000 people.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

First in the public mind comes always the National Government, and particularly the head of the nation. During the last month President Coolidge has gone steadily forward in his own way. Personal visitors and delegations have found him a good listener, and also a man who makes his meaning known in quiet and clear language. He "sticks to his job." When asked to go to New York to address a Harding memorial, he put it to the delegation to decide whether he could not better honor Harding's memory by standing up to the heavy duties of his office in Washington.

During the month he has issued several proclamations and public announcements. Among them are: The fixing of Oct. 9 as a National Fire Prevention Day; the issuing of an appeal for a fund to aid Japan (Sept. 16); the publication of his intention to call a conference of Governors (Sept. 21); here also may be mentioned his opening of the national convention of the American Red Cross (Sept. 24). On the same day he expressed his satisfaction that the United States came out of the World War "unencumbered by spoils, independent, unattached and unbought." On Sept. 28 he announced that veterans of any

national war, suffering from any disease, ought to be admitted free to the Federal hospitals. He issued a proclamation for a National Educational Week (Sept. 30). On Oct. 3 he sent a message to the Western Tariff Association containing the sentence: "The obvious necessity for maintaining a proper measure of protection to American industry and production in the face of chaotic industrial conditions following the war has unquestionably brought us nearer to a national solidarity on this issue." The President is paying close attention to the great outstanding problems of the farmer and American shipping. He has in general followed out his early decision to maintain the policies announced by President Harding.

In the departments and Federal services there have been few changes. So far as personal advisers are concerned, there is no indication of any drift out of the Cabinet. General Sawyer, personal physician to President Harding, now retires. It has been announced by the Civil Service Commission that the employes of the Federal Government on June 30 last were about 550,000, as against about 920,000 during the World War. The great question of the reorganization of the departments in Washington is still under consideration.

It was announced (Oct. 4) that Ambassador Harvey and Ambassador Childs had arranged with President Harding to withdraw from their appointments at London and at Rome. * * * A court-martial of the commander of the squadron of seven destroyers that went ashore on the California coast (Sept. 8) brought out the fact that the disaster was due to a refusal to accept the official bearings radioed from the Government station on land. * * * The high credit of the Treasury was shown when about \$250,000,000 of short-term Treasury certificates was subscribed twice over (Sept. 15).

NATIONAL AND STATE POLITICS

In national and State politics the principal events of the month have been the selection of Kendrick (Sept. 8) as organization Republican Mayor of Philadelphia, almost without opposition; the election to

[Continued on Page 312]

LEAGUE OF NATIONS WORKS FOR DISARMAMENT

By DENIS P. MYERS

Corresponding Secretary and Librarian of the World Peace Foundation

Mr. Myers, who is well known as a student of international affairs and as a writer on questions affecting the status of world peace, has just returned to the United States from Geneva, where he attended the sessions of the League's fourth Assembly

Fourth annual Assembly of the League of Nations galvanized by Italo-Greek crisis—League action not sensational, but effective—Progress made toward armament control, amendment of covenant, and budget reduction

THE League of Nations seems destined to live a troubled, fateful existence. Until just before the Fourth Assembly was scheduled to meet on Sept. 3, the annual "dress parade" of the institution promised to be about as insignificant a meeting as any of the several hundred gatherings held by an extremely active organization. And then, unexpectedly, it became almost epoch-making.

It happened that in Italy eight months before, a political adventurer had come to power over the bodies of the respectable old parties, and was faced by political opposition of such a character that he had deemed it necessary to save his political head by postponing elections. Just at that juncture the Italian members of a Boundary Commission operating under the Conference of Ambassadors, were slain on Greek territory. Mussolini had undoubtedly cleaned the Italian house internally, but the formula with which he had accomplished that—nationalism—made it almost inevitable that he insure his internal tenure of power by an external coup when such a perfect opportunity was offered. The famous ultimatum and occupation of Corfu created a situation at Geneva which for the first time tested the League machinery against a so-called first-class power.

The assembly of the League, from its opening on Sept. 3 to its closing on Sept. 30, never touched that situation directly, but the existence of the crisis affected its whole work, and the fact that it was in convention profoundly affected the result. As compared with other assemblies, the

plenary meetings were fewer, because in effect the member States insisted on discussing the Greco-Italian affair, yet did not want to force discussion before the situation was ripe for consideration. On the other hand, the delegations of the forty-seven countries represented were unanimous respecting the general course of action to be followed and also unanimous in their opinion of the contingent resort to force represented by the occupation of Corfu.

For a month the Italian delegation at Geneva was isolated by the force of public opinion. For the first time no Italian was given either a Vice Presidency or committee chairmanship, so that the Rome Government had no voice in the management of the Assembly. Opinion was so tense that no Italian ventured to address the Assembly. The committees were exceedingly skeptical of the good faith of any Italian proposals, and almost seemed to take pleasure in picking flaws in them and voting them down. In an international gathering of the representatives of forty-eight States, one of the great States, having emphasized by action that it was a "power," found itself a nonentity.

The actual Greco-Italian question as it came before the League was handled by the Council, and there was never any possibility of regarding it as involving the use of force because the appeal was made under Article 15, that is, under the conciliatory procedure clauses. The significance of the alignment described is therefore to be found in the manner in which

that procedure worked. No responsible person at Geneva ever considered it possible or desirable either to make threats or use force. There was absolutely no suggestion of a superstate in being or in action. Instead, there was a serious effort to develop the process of agreement within the scope of the general principles of morality binding upon all nations. The machinery for reaching such agreement was unexpectedly and vigorously impeded by Italy, with the result that questions of fundamental importance were put forward for settlement so as to clarify and strengthen the machinery for the future.

From the League point of view the Greco-Italian crisis proved that it is an efficient channel for mobilizing the right kind of opinion, that it is capable of mollifying extreme attitudes and of affecting beneficially the regular methods of diplomacy, that it seeks peace by agreement rather than its own "prestige," that though its machinery is still undeveloped, the League is not developing in the direction of a superstate, but rather toward a concert of conciliation.

The position of the League in the Greco-Italian affair was not understood even in Geneva. There was an expectation of dramatic action, an expectation that the institution would uphold its own "prestige" and assert its opinion regardless of opposition, possibilities which were at no time permissible under the Covenant of the League, and which to the careful students of international affairs who were present at the Assembly seemed to be undesirable in themselves. A diplomatic success of a co-operative society against one of its members which was at the moment striving to free itself of control would be anomalous in terms. What was aimed at was, first, to prevent the peace from being actually broken and, second, to insure the setting of a good precedent for the future. No one who reads the Assembly proceedings of Sept. 28 can be in doubt about the sentiment of fifty-three nations of the world concerning the future, and the remarks on that occasion certainly did not give Italy or any other member State any encouragement to rebel against the authority of the League a second time.

PROGRESS TOWARD DISARMAMENT

The second critical matter which came before the fourth Assembly and renders it notable was the elaboration of the treaty of mutual guarantee. It has been customary to assume that the disarmament program of the League is lagging. That, however, is a subject which the world has had with it for several hundred years, and only he who has never studied it imagines it to be a simple problem or one that will be settled by any single meeting or any single document. It is such a fundamental problem that progress in solving it must be the aim rather than complete solution at the present time.

The draft treaty of mutual assistance which was to be communicated to the member States in order to elicit their views respecting it represented an outstanding advance toward the control of international armament. This is the first time in the history of the world that a large number of States—fifty-four in this case—have voted that any document bearing upon reduction of armament of all kinds should be considered by them seriously and officially with a view to depriving themselves of firearms. Progress in this respect being measured by steps rather than jumps, it is well to define with some care the present status of the proposition.

The first Assembly in 1920 provided for a commission qualified in matters of a political, social and economic nature to submit proposals for the reduction of armaments in the form of a draft treaty. Last year the work of the Temporary Mixed Commission had progressed to the point where the Assembly was enabled to pass a resolution embodying the general principles to be realized in such a draft treaty. On proposals made by Lord Robert Cecil and Colonel Réquin the commission was able to submit a single text to the fourth Assembly, which was referred to its third committee, which then virtually became an international conference of fifty-three States on the reduction of armaments.

This committee in the course of seventeen meetings worked out a text acceptable to the member States. The difficulties of the subject, however, resulted in some discussions taking place in the personal rather than the official capacity of the

delegates; and revealed divergencies of view on some points. Moreover, "a large number of Governments have not yet expressed their opinions" on the resolution embodying general principles. As a consequence, it was decided "to request the Council to submit the draft treaty of mutual assistance to the Governments for their consideration, asking them to communicate their views in regard to it."

The draft which, having been worked out by fifty-three States, is now being studied by the present fifty-four member States of the League, with a view to formal and effective acceptance, begins with this epoch-making declaration: "The high contracting parties solemnly declare that aggressive war is an international crime and severally undertake that no one of them will be guilty of its commission." It is worthy of remark that this text was adopted in both committee and Assembly without any adverse discussion or vote.

The general principle that a guarantee and reduction of armament are interdependent is enunciated as "the result of practical experience, and in no way as the expression of a legal principle." The general guarantee is defined in the treaty, and in the case of certain countries may be supplemented by special treaties, an idea which was accepted after some opposition and serious objections, on condition that the special treaties must be submitted to the Council for examination, so as to avoid the danger of the existence of secret treaties of a partial character. On such a basis each State is obligated to estimate the amount of reduction it can effect in virtue of the operation of this single or double guarantee. On these estimates the Council will draw up the plan of reduction provided for in Article 8 of the Covenant, and after adherence thereto the reduction becomes effective for a period laid down in the treaty.

It may reasonably be held that this system represents the minimum view of the fifty-four member States of the League concerning reduction of armament. The discussions indicated that the powers which will not accept the draft will not be the most military, but the least so. The latter object to its not going further. Christian Lange expressed this

viewpoint thus: that the proper approach to the subject was "that armaments are the means of attack and intimidation, and not a means of defense or security." It is clear that the League will go forward in reducing armament. In fact, the member States passed a resolution in favor of keeping their armament budgets down to those of the present fiscal year at least. It approved the establishment of a year-book of statistical information concerning national armaments, continued all study commissions, and called for an international conference on traffic in arms.

POSITION OF AMERICA AT ASSEMBLY

The relation of the United States to the League is a perennial question. The League has taken the assertions of the United States Government in the past at their face value; and it is amusing or humiliating, as you please, to study the position of the United States at Geneva. All League activities likely to interest the United States are communicated to the Washington Government as they are to other Governments, that of Germany, for instance. In many matters an invitation is sent, owing to the character of the question—for instance, the opium problem. The regular procedure is for the Department of State to decline the invitation. Later it lets Geneva know that it would like to send an observer, strictly unofficial as usual. When that person arrives in Geneva he "sits in," adding nothing to the discussion, but every once in a while announcing that if such and such a thing is not done the United States, which might (wish to) adhere after the work was done, would not be able to do so. The League tries to be polite; it is in business for the good it can do, and it is not much concerned whether non-members are displeased with its labors or not. But it gets very little constructive aid from the United States in working out the problems under consideration.

As an example of this the conference on obscene publications and the proceedings of the second committee on opium may be cited. The conference was held during the course of the Assembly without being connected with it. The United States had the customary unofficial ob-

server, who, every once in a while, held up the proceedings in the manner described, but had no authority to cast a favorable vote.

The United States delegation arranged to have an invitation sent to them on the opium discussion in the Assembly, and arrived full of proposals. After they were heard, the commission reported favorably a proposal for two conferences next July, instead of the one they had themselves planned. One conference will be to provide measures respecting opium production and control in the Far East, and the other to conclude an agreement on the control of manufacture, production and export of narcotics. The United States having had its way with the Assembly in getting the conference split in two has now consented to participate in it officially and to share responsibility for working out the problem.

Turning to the League's own internal affairs, finance was the most intriguing problem up at the Assembly. It cost about as much to run the League, the International Labor Office and the Permanent Court—all of whose accounts are voted in one budget—as it does to build a modern torpedo boat. The spectacle of fifty-two nations disputing over the budget is scarcely edifying. If the same kind of economy were by any chance ever practiced in any national Government, the efficiency of the machinery of administration would be seriously impaired.

LEAGUE BUDGET REDUCED

This year the Budget Committee of the Assembly, after interminable discussions, reduced the budget by a matter of 2,000,000 gold francs Swiss, about half of which was cut out of working capital and temporary accounts. The budget was finally voted at 23,233,635.70 Swiss francs of which the League of Nations gets a little less than half for current 1924 expenses, or 11,141,449 francs. The International Labor Office budget is 6,917,295 francs, and the Permanent Court of International Justice requires 1,916,002 francs for 1924. The total budget is distributed among the States in 932 units, so that Salvador, which pays one unit, finds its annual dues in three organizations costing 24,929 francs,

or \$4,812.50. It costs the British Empire, at 88 units \$370,921; France, at 78 the sum of \$322,796; India, at 65, a total of \$312,813; Italy, at 61, the sum of \$293,562, and so forth. The total budget amounts to less than \$4,500,000. The current War and Navy Department expenses of the United States for one year would run the League of Nations for about 150 years.

The reduction of this year's budget was done somewhat at the expense of salaries, of which a percentage is adjustable to the cost of living. This year's cut has not seriously interfered with efficiency, and if the habit of economy does not grow, no irreparable damage will be done. But everybody who encounters the Secretariat personnel is immediately impressed with its quality, efficiency and devotion to duty. The reason is that decent salaries are paid, according to any fair standard, considering the technical ability required. The Secretary General has about \$20,000 a year, the heads of sections \$6,000 or \$7,000, and stenographers \$1,100 or \$1,200. These trained workers are far away from their homes, in positions of limited tenure, and in many cases have taken long chances on a permanent career in accepting a five-year Secretariat appointment. If salaries were to be reduced to the scale of European Governmental stipends, the result would be the same as it has been in those countries. No real ability would work at the price, and an inefficient bureaucracy would come into being. The Assembly is evidently appreciative of that fact, and is not desirous of forcing any such result.

Every Assembly leaves the constitutional aspect of the League somewhat different from before. Its influence in the world is still rising, for this year two new States were admitted, the Irish Free State on Sept. 10, and Ethiopia (Abyssinia) on Sept. 28. Both admissions had features of special interest. The Irish entrance into the League gave an international recognition to the new status of the Emerald Isle, and likewise made the so-called British bloc of votes in the Assembly seven instead of six. The entrance of Ethiopia indicated the development of a constitutional practice which has manifested itself before, namely, admission under condi-

tions. The difficulty in the case of Ethiopia was slavery. The League took a servitude over the country in that respect and then, having insured its ability to effect a very desirable internal reform, brought that ancient Christian country into the family of nations for the first time in history. A touch of color was added to the proceedings on the occasion of both unanimous votes by the representatives of the newly admitted States addressing their fifty-two brother nations in the national idiom.

A number of changes were made in the membership of the Council, Uruguay, Brazil, Belgium, Sweden, Czechoslovakia and Spain being elected as non-permanent members. The replacement of China by Czechoslovakia in the Council brought forth a remonstrance from China, on the ground that the principle of geographical distribution had been violated. An intimation was given that China, which is one of the largest contributors to the treasury of the League, might withdraw from membership.

AMENDMENT ACTION

Another constitutional question was the ratification of amendments to the covenant passed by the second Assembly and awaiting ratification. The discussion of the question was instrumental in bringing in some of the ratifications necessary for putting the amendments into force, and in the end the Secretary General was authorized to correspond with the dilatory Governments with a view to securing effective changes incidental to the existence of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the definite allocation of expenses and the precision of the amendatory machinery.

Two more amendments were considered. One proposed by the British delegation respecting Article 16, on economic sanctions, was postponed. The other was the pending Canadian proposal relative to the famous Article 10. Originally the

Canadians had asked for the elimination of the article; then they asked for an addition to it with a view to defining the method of its realization in practice.

A resolution interpreting Article 10 of the covenant so as to leave to each State the exclusive right of determining to what extent, if any, military assistance should be given to any nation that was attacked, was adopted in commission, but rejected by the Assembly on Sept 25 (thirteen States abstaining from voting) by the adverse vote of Persia, which prevented the required unanimity. The President held that because of the peculiarity of the vote, the purpose, though not accepted, had not been defeated, and at his suggestion the result was communicated to the Council.

The British mandate for Palestine and the French mandate for Syria were declared effective from Sept. 29. The co-operation of the League in guaranteeing and administering a loan to Hungary, on the same terms as those upon which the loan to Austria was made, was promised by the Council whenever the loan should be authorized by the Reparations Commission.

THE WORLD COURT

A communication from the Conference of Ambassadors at Paris, on Sept. 20, asked the co-operation of the League in arranging an amicable settlement of a boundary controversy between Poland and Czechoslovakia over the region of Jaworlina. The Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, which ended its regular session the middle of September, will meet again in special session early in November to deal with this question. The court has been asked to give an opinion as to whether or not the decisions of a special commission appointed under the Treaty of St. Germain to regulate the question of frontiers are judicially of such a binding nature as to be accepted as final, this being the point upon which the two countries concerned have disagreed.

EUROPE'S INDICTMENT OF AMERICA

By CHARLES SAROLEA

Professor in the University of Edinburgh, Scotland; author of many works on literature and modern history

*The startling change in Europe's attitude toward America—
Conflicting views on the aloofness of the United States—
Disappointed hopes of aid to solve the problems of the war-stricken countries—Unpleasant facts that Americans should face*

THERE has perhaps been no more dramatic and abrupt political mutation in recent history than the changed attitude of Europe to the United States of America. In 1918 the American people were raised on a pinnacle as the one nation chosen by Providence to save civilization from destruction. Not only was America credited with boundless resources; she was also credited with the most lofty ideals and with the magnanimous resolve to carry out those ideals at whatever cost.

Today, in European estimation, how has America fallen from her high estate? It is true never did her financial credit stand higher, but never has her moral prestige sunk lower. Not only are the American people subjected to constant attacks in the European press, but it strangely happens that on this occasion the state of public opinion is even more unfavorable than one might infer from the strictures of the press. Europe is given over to chaos and confusion, and she makes America largely responsible for that chaos. None of the high hopes based on the American people have been realized and the bitterness of the disillusionment is in proportion to the extravagance of European expectations.

From the first day of the armistice, in the course of my wanderings in every part of the Continent, I have had unusual opportunities to study those currents and cross-currents of European opinion. I have interviewed Kings and Presidents, Prime Ministers and party leaders, journalists

and soldiers, teachers and preachers, the man of business and the man in the street. In summing up briefly the conclusions of my investigations, I shall do so without reserve or reticence and with all the greater frankness because I believe myself that Europe is mistaken in most of her judgments of American foreign policy. No useful purpose can be served by not stating the facts as they are; on the contrary, a very useful purpose will be served by an outspoken statement of the truth.

It would be entirely misleading to infer that the opinion of Europe is homogeneous and that her judgments are unanimous. There is not one solid body of opinion; rather are there many conflicting opinions, and each one of those opinions reflects the fluctuating hopes and fears, the sympathies and antipathies, the passions and prejudices, of various sections of the European community. In this chaotic welter of reason and emotion, of fact and fiction, which we are pleased to call the European mentality, there are at least five which it is advisable carefully to distinguish and to emphasize.

First, there is the attitude of the pacifist who approves of the present course of American policy.

Second, there is the attitude of the cynic, who, while he takes a low estimate of American policy as he takes of every other policy, yet submits to what he believes to be inevitable evils.

Third, there is the attitude of the disappointed moralist who protests with bitter indignation against what he considers the

betrayal of a great trust and the waste of a great opportunity.

Fourth, there is the attitude of the man of the world, who, although regretting the American attitude, honestly tries to understand the American point of view.

Fifth and last, there is the attitude of the optimist and the idealist who continues to believe in constructive American intervention, who retains an indestructible faith in the magnanimity and good sense of the American Commonwealth, and who remains convinced that in the fullness of time the New World will intervene to save Europe from a catastrophe.

The relative strength of each current of opinion may be different in different European countries, and in each country we shall probably discover a recurrence of the same moods and hear a repetition of identical arguments.

PACIFIST APPROVAL OF NON-INTERVENTION

1 The pacifist section heartily endorses the American policy of non-intervention. We shall find it mainly represented in the Labor Party and in the Non-conformist churches. The Labor Party in most European Parliaments denounces the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations even more cordially than they are denounced by the United States Congress. America, the pacifists hold, has been shamelessly treated by European Governments. She entered the war on a wave of popular enthusiasm and idealism. She made a gigantic effort. In July, 1918, the situation of the Allies was desperate. The surrender of Paris was expected every moment. At the eleventh hour America saved the situation.

But once the hour of danger was passed the Allies refused to listen to America. In October, 1918, the Allies and Germany had accepted the Fourteen Points. At Versailles the Fourteen Points were ignored. The peace treaty deceived both Germany and America.

Today the European victors, whether great or small, are intoxicated by the new wine of victory. Almost everywhere even the newly liberated nationalities are found to be oppressing the racial minorities and imitating the evil example of the vanquished Germanic Empire. Political reac-

tion is again supreme and the war which was to end war has only resulted in a recrudescence of militarism everywhere. During the World War the Allies did not cease to protest against arbitrary imprisonments in the territories occupied by the German conquerors, against the taking of hostages, against the deportations of civilians. Yet in the Ruhr the Allies have done exactly what the Germans did, with the aggravating circumstance that they have done so in the midst of peace. Hundreds of cities were made vicariously responsible for the deeds of individual offenders. Thousands of German Burgomasters and public officials were sent to prison merely for doing what they considered their patriotic duty. When I visited a considerable number of such political prisoners, Mayors and public officials, in the cells of Bonn Prison, I found men suffering in a hideous dungeon because they had discharged their public duty. Tens of thousands of Rhinelanders were deported and separated from their families. And all the time the League of Nations, which is nothing but a league of the victorious powers, looked on in futile impotence. Only the head of the Roman Catholic Church dared to raise his voice: a voice crying in the European wilderness.

In the face of such an insane policy, the European Governments still have the impudence to press for the financial aid of America. To grant such aid would simply be to encourage evil political courses which every true American is bound to condemn. It would be like giving money to a confirmed drunkard of violent temperament, with the full knowledge that, if we supply the drunkard with the means of getting drunk, he is almost certain to commit a murderous assault. America is willing to help the suffering people. She has spent money like water on every imaginable work of European relief. But she cannot conscientiously help European Governments. If she were to do so, she would virtually become their accomplice.

Nor can America accept to join the present League of Nations. She would either be hopelessly outvoted in the Council and would have to continue to look on in ignominious paralysis or she would have to endorse a policy which she disapproves. Compared with such dismal alternatives the present American attitude of protest

and abstention is infinitely preferable. Indeed, it is the only way to compel Europe to abandon her mad courses and to put her house in order.

Such, in effect, is the attitude of European pacifists.

THE UTILITARIAN CYNIC

2 The European pacifist approves of American policy because he disapproves of European policy. There is another section of the population which, if it does not approve, at least submits to the American policy, although for totally different reasons. Their attitude may be described as the attitude of the cynic and the pessimist, of the loyal disciple of Machiavelli. The modern Machiavelli believes that nations are guided and rightly guided by their selfish interests. An individual may, if he chooses, sacrifice himself to the common good. A nation cannot afford thus to play the part of a Don Quixote. On that realistic principle America is justified in her present policy and she has consistently acted on it. America has tried to follow her national interests ever since 1914. She kept out of the war as long as she could and she made billions of dollars by selling armaments and lending money to belligerents. After Europe for three years had been bleeding to death America entered the war for the obvious reason that, if Germany had won, as she would have done but for the American intervention, America would have lost the colossal sums of money which she had advanced to the Allies. And now once more she is careful to keep out of European entanglements, even as she was careful to keep out of the war. Once more she is trying to make the most of her commercial and financial opportunities.

Europe certainly has no right to blame America. She simply follows the course which every European nation would have followed or actually has followed. There is no example of any nation in modern times assisting another nation in the face of her own interest. France intervened in the American war of independence. She intervened, however, not because she loved America, but because she hated England. On the other hand, England refused to intervene in the war of secession. The

ruling classes of England, in fact, gave their moral support to the slave States. Nor has European policy changed in the present generation. The very nations which today are denouncing America are themselves acting on the self-same principle as is made manifest by the existing chaos of the European exchanges. Poland is the close ally of France, yet France has done nothing to rescue the Polish mark. Great Britain is the ally of France, yet Great Britain has done nothing to maintain the exchange of the French franc. Belgium, whose policy is so closely identified with the policy of France, has received no financial assistance from her richer neighbor. It would have been easy for the French Government to make the Belgian franc legal tender in France; yet the Belgian people are compelled to pay 120 Belgian francs for every 100 French francs.

So much for the view of the utilitarian cynic, the realistic interpreter of politics along Machiavellian lines.

THE DISAPPOINTED "MAN IN THE STREET"

3 Both the pacifist idealist and the utilitarian cynic on the whole approve of the American policy. But there is a third section of public opinion which opposes it with bitter indignation. That section is represented by the so-called "Man in the Street," by those unpolitical and inarticulate masses which are led not by cold, calculating reason, but by their feelings and emotions, by their illusions and disillusiones. They are the same people who, five years ago, based all their hopes on the active intervention of the United States, who hailed President Wilson as the heaven-appointed savior.

America of her own free will entered into a partnership and she now deserts her European partners in the hour of their bitterest need. America undertook to assist in a critical surgical operation and now she deserts the patient before the operation is finished, while the patient is still delirious and exhausted from loss of blood. The poet Dante did not hesitate to send to hell the saintly Pope who dared not shoulder the responsibilities of his high office and who made "the great refusal." Similarly, the "Man in the Street" does not hesitate to relegate the American peo-

ple to the infernal regions because at a most critical hour in the history of civilization they betrayed their sacred trust.

America—so the “Man in the Street” assumes—is actuated by ignoble greed. America is playing the part of Shylock exacting his pound of flesh. The medieval alchemist in league with the devil claimed to transmute base metal into pure gold. The American financial alchemist of today has managed to extract gold from the blood of the European people. The American moneylenders object to Germany paying reparations to her victims. At the same time, with an amazing lack of consistency and moral sensibility, they find it quite right that France should pay her debts to her American allies, debts which were incurred in the pursuit of a common cause.

A very simple dilemma ought to force itself on any fair-minded American citizen. Either the war was a just and necessary war or it was not. If it was not, America ought not to have entered it. On the contrary, if it was just and necessary—after three years of careful deliberation the American people decided that it was—then the war became the common concern of all the Allies and consequently each one of the Allies was in duty bound to shoulder the necessary responsibilities and to make the necessary sacrifices according to his strength. There is no way of escape from that inexorable logic. And by virtue of that logic, on those self-evident principles, not only has America no moral right to demand the payment of debts which were incurred in a common cause, but she ought to have contributed very much more than her share in money, because as she came in at the very end of the war, she contributed so much less than her share in blood. On those very same principles, in the Napoleonic conflict, Great Britain for twenty years paid nearly the whole cost of the Continental wars. Her allies did most of the fighting, but Great Britain did most of the financing, and for a hundred years she bravely carried the burden.

America has chosen to take a different point of view, that of the moneylender. She looks upon the war as a business proposition, as a commercial transaction. Not only is she playing the part of Shy-

lock, she is playing simultaneously the part of the self-righteous, sanctimonious Pharisee, denouncing the wickedness and folly of Old Europe. Shylock at least did not pose as an idealist; he did not invoke a higher moral law. But the American claims to act as the self-righteous Christian, as the stern judge traducing European nations, before the supreme court of Yankee opinion.

Thus America is adding insult to injury. And let it be noted, there is not a shadow of justification for such a superior attitude. No doubt Europe has committed blunder after blunder; but those blunders were unavoidable; they are an integral part of the European tragedy; they are the aftermath which every war brings in its train. One would have thought that America would have learned something of what is meant by the “aftermath of a great war.” The years following the war of secession are known in textbooks of American history as the “years of reconstruction.” But every American is aware that those so-called years of reconstruction meant hell to the Southern States, that they meant a reign of terror, that they meant the hideous tyranny of the carpetbaggers, of the Ku Klux Klan. It took fifteen dreary years before normal conditions were restored, before a sound currency replaced the greenbacks. Yet in those days America was far more favorably situated than Europe is today. She was a young growing community with infinite recuperative powers. And the losses which she then endured were as nothing compared with the destruction endured by Europe.

THE WORST BLUNDERS

We have granted that Europe has made many blunders and we have submitted that those blunders were unavoidable. We ought to add, however, that the worst blunders which Europe made were not unavoidable. But for those avoidable blunders it is America and not Europe who is directly responsible. American critics say that the main cause of the European chaos is due to the circumstance that the Versailles peace is a hopelessly bad peace, that it is a militarist European peace. In point of sober fact, the Versailles peace

may be much more fittingly described as an American peace. And it ought to be so described not only because the American Plenipotentiaries affixed their signatures to it, but because the peace was concluded largely on American principles. It is impossible to read even the American accounts of the Peace Treaty, such as the narrative of Mr. Lansing, without realizing that President Wilson is responsible for the most grievous errors of the treaty. He had all the trump cards in his hands and because of his obstinacy and conceit, his lack of knowledge and sympathy, he threw them all away. If Europe alone had been allowed to make the peace on European principles, if France had had her will, the Allies would have finally destroyed Prussianism, they would have neutralized the left bank of the Rhine, they would have demanded German reparations while German resources were still intact. Such a solution would have been best for all parties concerned, and not least so for the German people. Both the Allies and Germany would have been saved from the hideous financial nightmare which has obsessed them for the last five years. Unfortunately France was not allowed to follow her policy. President Wilson wanted a "peace without victory"; he opposed his veto and his veto was decisive. The final result is seen today in the unutterable chaos and confusion of the European Continent.

Let us consider dispassionately the deeper causes of that confusion, in order fully and clearly to realize the terrible responsibility of the United States. Apart from Bolshevism, for which the Allies are certainly not accountable, there are two main causes of the present European position. The first cause is the explosion of nationalist forces all over the Continent. Now let it be noted that those nationalist passions have asserted themselves in the name of the principle of self-determination. That principle was loaded with dynamite. The self-determination of every little national group was certain to overrule the general European interest. And let it further be noted that this principle of self-determination was pre-eminently a Wilsonian principle. It may well be, as we are told by our American friends, that

Poland is a very troublesome member of the European Commonwealth. But let those American friends remember that the resurrection of Poland was one of the Fourteen Points. It may be that the problem of Danzig is indeed an outlet to the sea. It may have been a grievous blunder to cut up the Austro-Hungarian Empire into half a dozen States. But the mutilation of the body politic of Austria-Hungary has been accomplished in the name of the American political gospel.

AMERICA'S ECONOMIC MONOPOLY

The second cause of the European chaos is the financial collapse of the exchanges. But again for that collapse America is largely responsible. America has drained the gold of the world. She controls the money markets. She partly causes the high prices. Her resources have remained intact while Europe has been ruined. She has gained a virtual economic monopoly and she is using that monopoly as recklessly abroad as her trusts have used their monopolies at home. The methods of the United States are strikingly like the methods of the Russian Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks have expropriated and massacred the capitalist; America more cunningly has appropriated the capital.

America alone could have extricated the Old World from its desperate position. America alone was not directly involved. She alone had the necessary resources. She refused to give any assistance. What was the European Hecuba to her? Was she her brother's keeper? She thought, no doubt, that she was following a policy of enlightened self-interest. She was grievously mistaken. She has not only been selfish and hypocritical; she has also been stupid. The day of retribution is bound to come. Today Europe is suffering terrible straits. But tomorrow the turn of America is sure to come, for she has wantonly destroyed her best markets and let loose the forces of disorder which will destroy her after they have completed the destruction of Europe.

The American newspapers are never tired of denouncing the methods of secret diplomacy adopted at Versailles. They may be quite right in denouncing those methods, but they forget that no one was more

secretive and more seclusive than President Wilson, as has been abundantly proved by Mr. Lansing. They also forget that, when political problems are very complex and when popular passions are roused, secret diplomacy may be the only possible method. Peace negotiations would have been broken off almost at the outset if the negotiators had taken the press into their confidence.

Thus have we tried as accurately as possible to diagnose and give expression to the opinions of the inarticulate and unpolitical masses which are carried away by sentiment rather than reason.

THE VIEW OF THE POLITICAL RULERS

4 There is a fourth body of European opinion which may be described as that of the ruling political class. Its numbers are small, but its weight is considerable. That political section does not agree with the pacifist. It does not believe that the present American policy is right. Nor does it agree with the cynic. It does not believe that each nation has only to obey the dictates of its selfish interests. Nor does it agree with the sentimentalist. It tries honestly to understand the point of view of the American people, the adverse causes and the complex forces which operate in the American community. It is convinced that those forces have proved too strong for the Government in power and that they are certainly sufficient to explain and to justify the present policy of the United States Government.

First, we have to take into account the ignorance of Europe which exists among large classes of the American people. That ignorance may be profoundly deplorable, but it is certainly not greater than our own British ignorance of American affairs. In the days of Czarism there was a popular Russian proverb: "God is too high, the Czar is too far!" That Russian proverb may help us to realize the American difficulty. To the ordinary American, Europe seems to belong to a different planet. How can a prosperous farmer in the Far West be expected to understand the conditions of the struggling Polish or Serbian peasant?

In the second place, we are confronted with the venerable tradition of non-inter-

vention. Abstention from any European entanglements is one of the sacred principles of American policy. Even Mr. Lansing is still constantly referring to it as the one great obstacle to common understanding. When we consider the strength of that tradition, the astonishing thing is, not that America should refuse to intervene today; the miracle was rather that America should have been brought to intervene six years ago.

In the third place, we have to take into account the ethnical composition of the American people. America, from the variegated composition of her population, is bound to be profoundly divided. Those same racial elements which for three years prevented America from entering the war are once more asserting themselves. Is it reasonable to expect unity of political direction in a Commonwealth which is composed of such heterogeneous elements?

But perhaps—according to the political ruling classes of Europe—the most important factor in the present American policy, a factor which is too little understood in Europe, is the circumstance that America has been shaken by the war to her very foundations. The United States may have suffered less than Europe, but the political upheaval has been even greater. The war has not essentially changed the constitution of European nations. Even before the war they were organized mainly on a military basis. On the contrary, the war has radically changed the conditions of American political life. As the result of the war, the Constitution of the United States is on its trial. Hitherto America had been a democracy organized for the purposes of peace. She did not even possess in her Constitution the proper machinery to settle the complicated problems of foreign policy. Otherwise it would have been impossible for America to repudiate the signature of her own Plenipotentiaries. Her Constitution, until amended, did not even allow the Government to levy an income tax on its citizens. The World War was bound to bring about a formidable social and political revolution, from which America may require many years to recover. So far-reaching were the consequences of that revolution that during the critical years of 1920 and 1921, an Ameri-

can patriot might well have entertained the worst fears for the future of his country—high prices, unemployment, dislocation of transport, strikes and lawlessness were the order of the day. It is only fair to give the American Commonwealth sufficient time to return to normal conditions. Democracy means government by consent, and to obtain the consent of 100,000,000 people who are spread over a vast continent is bound to be a very slow process.

OPTIMISTS AND IDEALISTS

5 Sober, calculating minds in Great Britain are prepared to give due weight to the political, economic and racial forces which have been hitherto operating against American intervention. They accept facts as they are. Very different is the attitude of that other section of the people whose position it still remains for us to consider. That section is composed of sanguine optimists and idealists. It is prepared to look further ahead; it bases its hopes on those other latent forces which in the near future are bound to operate in favor of American intervention and co-operation.

The American people are a sensitive people, legitimately proud of their commanding international position. It is therefore reasonable to expect that they cannot remain indefinitely satisfied with a merely negative attitude. The American people, whatever may be said to the contrary, are inspired by lofty ideals. They sincerely believe that they have a message to deliver to the newborn nations of Central and Eastern Europe. It is therefore reasonable to think that they will not be always contented with the position of passive and detached onlookers. And lastly, the American people have generally obeyed a sound practical instinct. They are gradually learning that the old shibboleths no longer answer the facts of the case. They know that even before the war the United States had become a world power, and that an attitude of aloofness and detachment is contrary to her vital interests.

The political optimist in Europe therefore has very good reasons to believe that the moment cannot be long delayed when America will once more energetically intervene in European affairs. He may see an auspicious analogy between the belated intervention of America and the belated intervention of the Papacy. In both cases he may see good reasons for the necessary delay. The principles underlying the peace settlement did involve moral principles as well as political principles. No doubt one might have confidently prophesied that the Papacy, as the greatest spiritual power of the world, would have made its influence felt from the beginning. Insuperable difficulties, however, seemed to stand in the way. And the intervention of the Papacy was postponed for five years. Yet the difficulties were finally overcome and now at last the Pope has spoken and has appealed to the conscience of Christendom. Even so the American people will override the difficulties which hitherto have stood in the way of co-operation. Like the Papacy, the United States Government has been confronted with the terrible complexity of the situation, with the formidable risks which are involved in any false step. But like the Papacy, the American Government will be driven to intervene. Europe is standing on the verge of the abyss. The existence of civilization is at stake. But the very gravity of the situation is an additional reason to think that the optimist who believes in a reconstructive American participation will be ultimately justified in his faith. In its own time and in its own way the New World will throw in its moral and political weight in order to redress the balance of the Old.

From these summaries, it will be seen, as pointed out at the beginning of this article, that there is not one solid European opinion of America's relations to the troubled condition of the Old World, but rather there are many conflicting opinions, which—right or wrong—need to be stated, however unpleasant they may be.

AMERICA'S HELPING HAND TO EUROPE

By GEORGE WHARTON PEPPER

United States Senator from Pennsylvania; a leading Philadelphia lawyer; formerly professor of law at the University of Pennsylvania; author of legal and other works

The policy of keeping out of the League of Nations and avoiding political entanglements is no indication of America's real attitude of sympathy and understanding—Assistance given to Europe in many directions

PROFESSOR SAROLEA, in a thoughtful article, contributed to CURRENT HISTORY, attempts to classify European opinions respecting the attitude of the United States toward world problems. He distinguishes five different bodies of European opinion on this subject. On the whole these opinions are by no means complimentary to us. The writer indeed makes a commendable effort to be judicial, and even expresses his personal appreciation of the American point of view. But in presenting the unfriendly criticisms attributed by him to the "Man in the Street" he displays a not wholly impersonal warmth. He credits to his plain citizen a familiarity with American affairs and with an insight into our national life and habits of thought strongly out of keeping with the generally conceded ignorance of Europeans on both these subjects. One may suspect that the writer has in this way given vent to his own deep-seated emotions while preserving his intellectual self-respect by resort to reservations.

What Europeans think of the United States is, of course, a highly important matter. To affect indifference to world opinion is a sure sign of provincialism or conceit. But in attempting to use this opinion as a guide to conduct we must proceed with extreme caution. We have failed to do what most Europeans wanted us to do. Resentment on their part is, therefore, inevitable. But people in a resentful mood seldom think straight. It is by no means safe to treat as final either their analysis of motives or their estimates of conduct.

If the tables were turned, and expression were given to American opinions of con-

temporary European conduct, it would at once become clear to Professor Sarolea how superficial such judgments are. And yet I suppose our ignorance of Europe is no more dense than Europe's ignorance of America. Rightly or wrongly, we think that we have done a good deal to relieve a situation for which Europeans, and not we, were responsible. We accordingly focus attention on what we have done and are inclined to be resentful because of inadequate appreciation. Our friends across the water fix their minds upon what we have not done and measure us by the standard of defective performance.

We blame them for a perverse and unintelligent failure to solve their own problems. They blame us for declining to help them in the struggle for solution. In censuring them we have little appreciation of the obstacles in the way of solution. In condemning us they vastly overestimate the contribution which we could by any possibility make to the desired result.

Professor Sarolea's article suggests the remark that, if the peoples of Europe agree in their estimate of the United States, it is perhaps the only subject upon which they are at present in agreement. Indeed, it might almost be said that an excellent way to estimate the real value of opinions bred in an atmosphere of resentment is to review the estimates which the peoples of Europe are today making of one another. It would subserve no useful purpose to name names in this connection. I do not, at the moment, think of a single European nation which can fairly be judged by the opinions entertained of it by the others.

Against unfavorable opinions of the United States attributed to masses of Euro-

peans by returned travelers may be set the statistics of immigration. I believe the Italian quota for the year beginning July 1, 1923, is about 42,000. After the lapse of less than three months, Italian applications for leave to emigrate number about 600,000. What the figures for the year will be can only be guessed. The statistics of some of the other nations are scarcely less interesting. I hazard the observation that unpopularity of the United States does not much prevail among Europeans who do the hard work of the world.

But controversy respecting my estimate of another man's conduct is less important than an honest effort on my part to interpret myself to him. It is too early, however, to make such an effort on behalf of the United States. Minds seldom open until controversy shows signs of closing. Nevertheless, a few preliminary suggestions may not be out of place.

First, it should be observed that during the lapse of a century we have had very few serious international complications. For this reason the great mass of native-

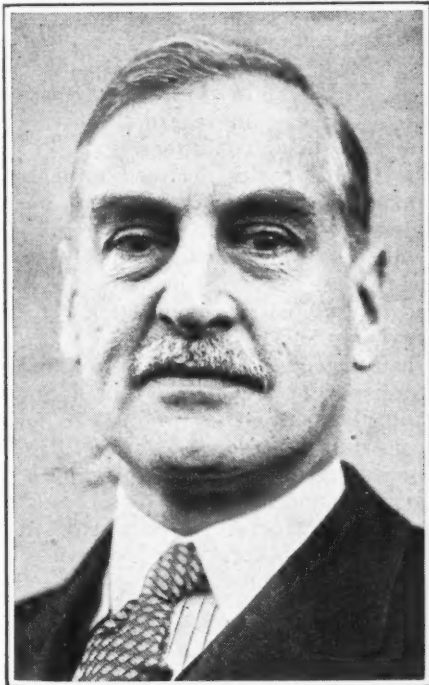
born Americans do not conceive of their Government as authorized to bind them in this sphere of action. That a few accredited representatives should commit a nation to war seems natural enough to a people who have had perpetual controversies with neighboring States. To us, however, the thought is appalling. Our people want to keep the war power as far as possible in their own hands. The widespread popular belief that the League of Nations was a device for making international commitments was the reason for its unpopularity with Americans who are native born.

On the other hand, many Americans of European birth have brought with them their race prejudices and their international hatreds. Their objection to the League of Nations is not so much the possibility of commitment as the chance that the commitment, if made, might array the United States on the wrong side of a European conflict.

A second suggestion is this: that the advocates of the League in the United States have differed widely among themselves respecting its function. Conceived for the purpose of making force available to compel good conduct, the League has nevertheless found some of its most ardent supporters among those who repudiate all appeal to force. Nothing could be more striking, for example, than the opposition between the conception of the League entertained by President Wilson and that which engrosses Lord Robert Cecil. The one sought to make the organization the embodiment of force; the other would develop it into a council of conciliation.

The body of opinion in the United States which would commit this country to a policy of preserving international peace by international coercion is, from the political point of view, negligible. On the other hand, there is a great and growing interest in projects for the adjustment of controversies through the processes of conference and conciliation.

If, therefore, enforcement of the Versailles Treaty had, in accordance with precedent, been left to a Council of Ambassadors of the nations most concerned and if the League had been planned without a single covenant and without even an



GEORGE WHARTON PEPPER
United States Senator from Pennsylvania

implied power of commitment, it is a fair guess that the United States would have ratified the treaty and joined the League. At the moment we, as a people, are profoundly grateful that we did not ratify the treaty; but I believe there is a widespread and genuine regret that the League was framed on lines which made our adherence impossible. With the treaty as it is and with the United States a party to the League as organized, the plight of Europe could have been no better and the position of America could have been seriously jeopardized. With the United States a member of an international council of conciliation, it is at least a reasonable opinion that the rehabilitation of Europe would have progressed more rapidly and that co-operation by the United States would have proved possible. As it is, there is little prospect of wiping the slate clean and starting afresh. In spite of gallant attempts to defend it, the simple fact is that the League has lately been so discredited that American interest in remodeling it would be hard to revive. And on the part of the member States there has apparently been no such appreciation of the situation as to encourage frank proposals for remodeling it.

The World Court proposal has, on the one hand, the strength of an aspiration for the peaceful settlement of disputes and, on the other, the weakness of a definite relationship to the discredited League. The problem of statesmanship is to develop the strength and eliminate the weakness of the plan. To retain the jurisdiction of the court as it is and to fill future vacancies among the Judges by the vote of an assembly of representatives of all States and not merely of League member States, is a possible way in which to solve this problem.

A third suggestion may be made by calling attention to the difference between aloofness or isolation in a political sense and disregard of the social ties of humanity and brotherhood. If the one can be charged against the United States, the other certainly cannot be.

The United States today is exercising all its diplomatic and Consular functions under conditions which give them an intensified value. Through many and varied types of governmental commissions, military, civil, legal and humanitarian, it has taken an important and helpful part in European affairs. Its people, aided by their Government, have given great sums of money in charity to the residents of European and other countries. Private citizens have given their time, and sometimes their lives, to forward this work.

Not only has the Government extended tremendous credits to other nations, but engineers, bankers and business men have traveled in Europe, in both official and private capacities, to discuss problems of reconstruction and of economics, and to offer their knowledge toward a solution of those that are most pressing.

Because of these things, because of the relationships established by the men whom America sent abroad during the war, because of the many representatives of welfare and other organizations who have been there since, because of the personal and careful studies made by visiting members of Congress, there is today a wide understanding and sympathy on the part of the people of America toward the people of Europe, if not in regard to their political, at least in regard to their economic and social conditions.

The United States declined to make a covenant respecting future conduct, but at once set to work to relieve distress. There are other nations which promptly made the covenant, but subsequent events have failed to establish any connection between the covenant and performance.

When the time comes justly to appraise the post-war policy of the United States, its objective abroad, as well as at home, may possibly be described as *stability*. A nation which declines to involve itself in political commitments may readily become a steadying influence in the world. It is a useful thing to keep your head when all about you are losing theirs and blaming it on you.

AMERICA'S DUTY TO EUROPE TODAY

By CHARLES SEYMOUR

Professor of History, Yale University; Chief of Austro-Hungary Division of the American Peace Commission at Paris; United States delegate on Rumanian, Yugoslav and Czechoslovak territorial commissions at the Peace Conference; author of "The Diplomatic Background of the War," "Woodrow Wilson and the World War" and other historical works

Development of America's isolation policy—President Wilson's efforts to maintain neutrality—How American influence modified Peace Treaty—Senate rejection of treaty the cause of Europe's ills

THE delights of an anniversary are not altogether unalloyed. If they evoke pleasurable memories of the past, clothed in a glamour sufficient to make us forget present discomforts, they also compel us frequently to take stock of a situation clouded by an uncertain future.

A nation is not so introspective as an individual, but there is no reason why national anniversaries should not also be utilized for the sombre, but possibly beneficial, task of self-interrogation. This year is the one hundredth anniversary of the Monroe Doctrine, the twenty-fifth of the Spanish War. The fact naturally leads us to reconsider the past of our foreign relations and to ponder their future.

During all but the smallest fraction of this past century the principle crystallized in the Monroe Doctrine has been dominant: European States should manage their affairs without interference from America, in return for which a reciprocal attitude was expected from them. Before the influence of John Quincy Adams embodied this double aspect of our policy in the Monroe Doctrine, George Washington had laid the foundation for it in his farewell address and Thomas Jefferson had expressed the idea more concretely in a single sentence: "Our first and fundamental maxim," he said, "should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cisatlantic affairs."

The controlling influence of these principles in American public life found its

roots in the logic of facts rather than the force of theory. The American people like slogans, and the Monroe Doctrine summarized for many years the policy which they would have adopted naturally, had it never been formulated in well-balanced phrases. The geographical isolation of the United States, the influence of the Atlantic as a factor of separation, the significance of the frontier pushed gradually westward, led us inevitably to turn our back upon Europe politically. Nor was it until the final decades of the nineteenth century that the great scientific inventions began to annihilate distance and to create economic factors which were destined to link the fortunes of America irretrievably with those of Europe. While we contended for an equality of position in the Far East and a sort of pre-eminence in the Americas, especially in the Caribbean, the tradition of American political indifference to the rest of the world held good. This was the case up to the outbreak of the Spanish War in 1898.

The influence of the Spanish War upon the international relationships of the United States has, perhaps, been exaggerated. It is commonly asserted that it made of us a world power. The truth is, however, that the war, which was of short duration and of no great military or naval significance, affected the disposition of world forces in a material sense only to a slight degree. Our acquisition of the Philippines merely deepened an interest in the Far East which we had professed since

1854. Before the elimination of Spain from the Caribbean, we had asserted, and could probably have enforced, our political predominance in that region. As to Europe, even before 1898, our commercial relations had imperceptibly created ties which forbade that complete political isolation which was our tradition and which for many decades had been demanded by our interests. No less keen-sighted a statesman than Richard Olney had declared in 1895 that the American people could not assume an attitude of indifference toward European politics and that the hegemony of a single Continental State would be disastrous to their prosperity, if not to their safety.

The moral effect of the victory over Spain, however, was enormous. It aroused an interest in foreign politics hitherto almost completely lacking, and it induced a sense of power quite inconsistent with a policy of isolation. As President Wilson later said: "We can afford to exercise the self-restraint of a really great nation which realizes its own strength and scorns to misuse it." But the temptation to utilize, if not to misuse, suddenly realized power is almost irresistible. The United States was just beginning to feel its political oats, and that precisely at the moment when our industry and finance were compelling us to take our place among the great powers of the world. The change was gradual and it left the interior of the country largely untouched. But on the Atlantic seaboard and at the capital the political atmosphere underwent a transformation after 1898 which was not so subtle as to escape detection by foreign representatives.

NEW POLICY UNDER ROOSEVELT

Theodore Roosevelt, with a vigor not untouched by discreet restraint, expressed the new spirit in his speeches and deeds. "We have no choice, we people of the United States," he said, "as to whether or not we shall play a great part in the world. That has been determined for us by fate, by the march of events. We have to play that part. All that we can decide is whether we shall play it well or ill." In his policy there was little of the chauvinistic, but a clearly expressed determi-

nation that the United States should serve and where possible lead, exerting an influence commensurate with its material strength.

External evidence of the new place assumed by this country under Roosevelt was to be found in the rôle which he played as peacemaker between Russia and Japan. When the delegates from St. Petersburg and Tokio met at Portsmouth, N. H., to end the conflict waged on the plains of Manchuria, the traditional isolation of America became a little more of a theory and a little less of a fact. Roosevelt also sent the United States fleet around the world, a futile parade except upon the assumption that the world must know that the sinking of the Spanish Navy was by no means an accident, and that henceforth America must count for something everywhere in the world; in which case the cruise might prove, as the event demonstrated, a stabilizing factor making for world peace, for nothing induces a pacific spirit better than recognition of facts.

More significant still, perhaps, was the rôle played by Henry White, American Ambassador to France, at the Conference of Algieras in 1906. It was a European conference, largely political in character, necessitated by a European crisis, called to determine the degree of influence to be exercised in Morocco by various European States; an event weighted with political significance in the determination of the European balance of power. Not merely was the American delegate instructed to discuss matters of an essentially European and political nature, but the point of view taken by Mr. White, under Roosevelt's guidance, proved the determining factor in the decisions of the conference.

The change in official attitude under Roosevelt must not be exaggerated. Our mediation between Russia and Japan might have been suggested by our traditional interest in the Far East. Our representatives had previously participated in numerous European conferences, although these had been less narrowly political than that of Algieras. And it is true that the Senate, in approving the Moroccan settlement, refused to assume any responsibility for its maintenance and reiterated its ad-

herence to traditional policy. None the less European diplomats perceived clearly that a new element had entered their immediate political orbit. They began to watch America more closely. They were somewhat shocked by the easy victory over Spain. In some quarters resentment was not untinged with fear as they appreciated the growing strength of America, industrially and politically. The Kaiser talked of a Continental customs union to meet American competition. British statesmen considered the possibility of an Anglo-Saxon political alliance. Events were ripening for change, if not for cataclysm.

DIPLOMATIC TURMOIL IN EUROPE

These were the years, moreover, of diplomatic turmoil in Europe. The affirmation of British control in South Africa, following the Boer War; the defeat of Russia in Manchuria, directing her attention once more to Constantinople and the Near East; the renaissance of political confidence in France and the settlement of her quarrels with Italy and Great Britain: such developments had an immediate repercussion, the significance of which was guessed at the moment by only a well-informed minority. Since the Franco-German war and until the end of the century, Germany dominated Continental politics. Under Bismarck she had formed the Triple Alliance, reasserted her traditional friendship with Russia, preserved a close understanding with England, and isolated France. Politically secure, Germany had inaugurated and carried through an economic transformation which, by 1900, made her industrially one of the first powers of the world. German statesmen had not been disturbed by the formation of the Dual Alliance between France and Russia, so long as the former was distracted by her quarrels with Italy and Great Britain, and the latter concentrated her attention upon the Far East.

Early in the twentieth century, however, Germany found her diplomatic pathway beset by new and grave problems. The commercial development of the German Empire and especially Germany's plans for a great fleet could not but arouse the fear and suspicion of the British. The latter had regarded Germany's practical con-

trol of the Continent with indifference or sympathy, but the German maritime aspirations opened up new and less tranquil prospects. In the course of a few months Great Britain came to see that Germany, and not France or Russia, was bound to be the rival of the future. This new viewpoint in 1904 led to the Anglo-French Entente, which was supplemented three years later by the understanding with Russia. Thus was formed the Triple Entente, a defensive combination, lacking the cohesiveness of an alliance, but clearly opposed to the interests of the Central Powers. At the same time the urge for a warm water port was pushing Russia, blocked in Manchuria, toward Constantinople and the Balkans. Her success would mean that German plans for control of the pathway from Berlin to Bagdad would meet an insuperable obstacle.

The effect upon German policy was striking. Germany regarded herself as hemmed in by an iron ring, and she adopted the worst possible means of extricating herself. Instead of negotiating, with a view to a compromise of conflicting interests, she determined that her salvation lay in a show of force. It is certain that the civil rulers of Germany were anxious to avoid a general war, but the influence of the naval and military cliques was strong, and in the end they ruined all chance of discussions that might have restored a tranquil atmosphere. The British suggestions for a naval holiday were refused; military preparations were intensified, with evil effects upon France and Russia, who also prepared in their turn; diplomatic intrigues in the Balkans were multiplied in order to meet Russian designs. On three occasions—at the Algiers Conference, in the Bosnian crisis of 1908, and in the Agadir crisis of 1911—Germany adopted an aggressive tone, which did not tend to smooth the ruffled diplomatic waters.

The victories of the Balkan League in 1912 and the quarrel of Bulgaria and Serbia in 1913 brought the crisis to a head. Germany and Austria watched the defeat of Turkey with misgiving, and they looked upon the victories of Serbia as likely to build up an anti-Austrian influence in the Balkans, which would have been fatal to

the policy of the Central Powers. Even if Serbia were not acting as the tool of Russia, which they suspected, the integrity of the Hapsburg Empire was threatened by the unrest of the Austrian and Hungarian Serbs, and Germany needed a strong Austria. At the moment when Austria planned action designed to re-establish her influence in the Balkans, the Archduke was murdered. His assassination was the spark which ignited the accumulated explosive.

FIRST PEACE EFFORTS OF COL. HOUSE

Despite the fact that after 1898 the United States had come to be regarded by herself and others as a world power, and notwithstanding the increasing community of economic interests which linked us to Europe, few Americans perceived either the danger which lay in the complex European crisis during these years, nor the degree to which we were bound to be interested in a great European war. There was one notable exception—Colonel Edward M. House, the personal friend and adviser of President Wilson, who had studied European conditions at close range and who was convinced that the United States, because of its development as a world power, must assume responsibilities commensurate with its strength and advantages. With the permission, although hardly at the instance of the President, Colonel House went to Europe in the Spring of 1914, hoping to work out a plan which would end the Anglo-German rivalry and bring the two nations into an agreement with the United States providing for disarmament and a mutual promise to abstain from aggressive action. He found the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, receptive and enthusiastic. But the atmosphere at Berlin was bellicose. House saw clearly that the source of danger lay in the militarist and naval cliques; the Kaiser was friendly, but non-committal. Informal negotiations were in being and Colonel House was on his way to report to the President, when the European crisis came to a head, the militarists at Berlin and Vienna gained control, and the war broke forth.

President Wilson, at the time, was far less interested in foreign politics than his

adviser, and appreciated far less clearly the significance of the vast changes which had made the United States, almost unconsciously, a great world power and which would prevent her effectively from assuming an attitude of isolation. Such an attitude the President at first seemed determined to maintain. His preoccupations had always been concerned with a domestic reform program, he was by nature and conviction a pacifist, and he believed it to be not merely America's interest but her duty to remain aloof from all political entanglements in Europe.

The force of facts, however, was greater than Wilson's determination. Within a few weeks of the opening of the war the United States became involved in disputes with each of the belligerent groups. British interpretation of maritime regulations interfered directly with American commercial interests, and the progressive enforcement of the blockade against Germany aroused the protests of our State Department. On the other hand, a more serious dispute arose with Germany as a result of the submarine campaign, which, with the sinking of the *Lusitania* in May, 1915, threatened to bring the United States actively into the war.

These facts altered President Wilson's whole point of view. It is a chapter in history which might well be studied by determined isolationists today, who believe that it is possible for the United States to remain a world power and yet abstain from political interests in Europe. There was no one more determined than the President that America must stand aside from those Continental complications which resulted in "a war with which," as he asserted, "we have nothing to do, whose causes cannot touch us." But the events of 1914 and 1915 convinced even Wilson that the war touched us very closely, and soon he became the most ardent of all the opponents of isolation.

For two years the President steadfastly opposed active intervention. His patience with Germany's evasive tactics in the submarine negotiations embittered his foes and alienated his friends. He was resolved that the influence of the United States should be exerted, if possible, otherwise than through fighting. He was still more

determined that the influence of the country should count, in some way or other, for the ultimate improvement of the international system, the bankruptcy of which had been proved by the catastrophe of 1914. "We are in some sort and by the force of circumstances the responsible spokesmen of the rights of humanity." Yet as the war progressed he was brought to admit (Feb. 26, 1916) that under certain conditions it might be necessary to fight: "America ought to keep out of this war * * * at the expense of everything except this single thing upon which her character and history are founded—her sense of humanity and justice."

MEDIATION TO KEEP AMERICA NEUTRAL

It was because of this increasing appreciation of the difficulty of avoiding active participation, unless the war were brought to a speedy close, that President Wilson and Colonel House engaged in quiet negotiations for mediation, of which only meagre accounts have thus far been published. In 1915 and again in 1916 Colonel House had numerous conferences with representative statesmen of both belligerent groups. At times an agreement seemed possible, but every opportunity was destroyed by the "will to victory" manifested on each side. The German militarists were determined on a settlement which would leave Germany the military master of Europe and the road to the East. Entente statesmen, on the other hand, had made arrangements in their secret treaties, providing for the partition of the territories of the Central Powers and Turkey. Such treaties implied imperialistic aspirations with which the Government of the United States was entirely unconcerned.

Wilson and House sought a middle ground. The defeat of German militarist plans they regarded as essential to world stability; they did not, however, desire the complete collapse of Germany, for they believed that that country, under a liberal government, would be an essential economic factor in the life of the world. A little more courage on the part of the civilian influences in the German Government, which sought peace after the Battle of the Marne, a little in the way of con-

cessions on the part of the Entente statesmen, and the war might have been shortened.

Wilson's failure to secure peace in 1916, as Count von Bernstorff tells us, brought the German militarist clique into full power at Berlin. The refusal of the Entente statesmen to compromise had its natural reaction in Germany, where people felt that if peace could not be obtained by negotiation it must be won through force. The securing by Ludendorff of complete control brought the United States into the war. The pledge given by Germany after the sinking of the *Sussex* was withdrawn and ruthless submarine warfare resumed. There was nothing left for the United States but active intervention.

But although President Wilson proved as determined in his prosecution of the war as he had been anxious to preserve peace, he was not caught in the passion that so frequently blinds belligerents to the real issues. Germany must be defeated and her militarist masters dethroned. Once that were accomplished, however, he demanded a peace of justice. Such a peace implied the revision of the war aims of the Entente Allies, as these aims had crystallized in the secret treaties. The United States entered the war, not to separate the left bank of the Rhine from Germany, nor the Tyrol from Austria, nor to win spheres of influence in Adalia, Cilicia, or Mesopotamia for European States; nor to re-establish a new balance of power in Europe; it entered the war to found world stability upon a more just and permanent basis than had been provided by the old diplomatic system. Thus while America fought side by side with the Entente to defeat Germany, Wilson also strove to win the Entente to a revised program after victory had been secured.

For the moment he achieved what seemed like complete success. Germany was defeated, and in November, 1918, surrendered upon certain terms; and those terms were nothing else but the Wilsonian program, as expressed in the Fourteen Points. Before the war ended both sides were bound by a contract—the pre-armistice agreement—which determined the principles upon which peace should be

made. The United States had assumed a great responsibility, for its Government was virtually dictating to Europe and the world a new system of international relationships. It remained to be seen whether the power and the sagacity of that Government was sufficient to carry this revolution through to a stable and permanent settlement.

There was little doubt as to the power of America. Partly through her own efforts, but chiefly as a result of blind circumstance, she had attained a dominating position. The economic and military assistance given to the Entente and the political prestige won by Wilson in his great speeches accounted for much. But the main factor in the new international position of the United States lay outside America. In 1914 the United States was one of the eight world powers, including Italy and Japan. In 1918 three of those powers—Russia, Germany, Austro-Hungary—had apparently gone to pieces and had certainly lost all political influence in world councils. Of the other five, two—Italy and Japan—were not likely to play an important rôle. Great Britain, France and the United States remained; upon them depended the settlement. This meant for America at once a responsibility and a power which five years before would have seemed preposterous. The fact was recognized by Great Britain and France and it was manifested plainly in the Paris Peace Conference.

It may be true that President Wilson did not use his power as fully as he might have done; the Fourteen Points may have been riddled; it is certain that many clauses were written into the Versailles Treaty, especially upon the financial side, which might better have been otherwise. But it is equally true that such modifications were secured in the original plans of the Entente as to make the settlement a possible foundation for a new international order and a peace of reconciliation. The secret treaties, in Europe at least, were not carried into effect. The principle of a League of Nations, moreover, that principle which Roosevelt had so vigorously promulgated in 1910 and which had been resuscitated by Taft, Root and Hughes

during the war, had become the cornerstone of the settlement.

But if the settlement were indeed to prove a working basis there must be complete solidarity, economic and political, between the three chief world powers. It was upon this understanding that the British and French made the very considerable concessions exacted by President Wilson. If America was to wield influence, she must also assume her share of responsibility. Equally, or more important, was the danger that if the close understanding between Great Britain, France and the United States were not maintained, Germany would see in such disunion the opportunity for evading the obligations she had pledged herself to fulfill. The United States was a necessary factor, perhaps the most necessary factor, to world settlement. This was denied or disregarded by many in this country. It was affirmed by Americans who knew European conditions at first hand, as well as by the leading statesmen in every European country. It has recently been asserted with emphasis by a leading German at Williamstown. Its truth has been amply demonstrated by the course of events during the past three years.

SENATE ACTION SHATTERS UNITY

The United States, with or without justification, dissolved the understanding established by the war and destroyed the solidarity assumed by the Peace Conference. Whether the blame should be laid upon the *gaucherie* of President Wilson's tactics in attempting to force through the Senate the Versailles Treaty unamended, or upon the political selfishness of certain of his opponents, is beside the point. The treaty was defeated and the United States refused to enter the League of Nations. What was worse, perhaps, in its effect upon the European situation, was that the new Republican Administration entered into a separate peace with Germany. The terms of that separate treaty were, except for the elimination of the League Covenant and of certain American responsibilities, about the same as those of the Versailles Treaty. Where it would have been possible to accept the Versailles Treaty with

reservations, thus continuing the associations formed by the war, the Government chose to make a separate peace, thus underlining our separation from all European affairs.

In Germany it was naturally assumed that the collapse of our close political understanding with France and Great Britain meant complete inactivity on the part of America in the enforcement of the settlement, and very possibly definite hostility to France. Senator Lodge became a hero in Germany. American aid in obtaining a wholesale revision of reparations was counted upon. German evasions began.

In France the abstention of the United States had equally important effects. At the Peace Conference British and American influence, combined, had found much difficulty in restraining French plans for the separation of the Rhinelands. In return for promised guarantees Clemenceau had finally yielded. But now it appeared that the United States would not stand back of those guarantees, nor would it interest itself in compelling Germany to meet her promises. Rightly or wrongly, French statesmen believed that French security and reparations were alike threatened. Hence the impulse, led by Poincaré, to act alone. America's withdrawal had altered the conditions; now it was "each one for himself, and the devil take the hindmost." With American assistance, it is likely that the British could have restrained France, the French moderates, represented by Briand and Loucheur, might have been kept in power, and the invasion of the Ruhr prevented. But acting by itself alone, the British Government was able only to protest.

It is easy to excoriate Germany for her failure, through design or impotence, to meet the obligations she assumed in the

Treaty of Versailles. It is equally simple to accuse France of imperialistic purposes, calculated to prolong the existing European disorganization. What is more difficult for us Americans is to formulate the confession that we are, in some measure at least, responsible for the present situation. Such a confession would accord with the facts and it would imply a moral obligation on our part to assist actively in finding a remedy. If, to preserve our self-respect and to assure our material security, we found ourselves compelled to enter the European war, the same factors are pushing us with increased vigor toward a renewal of the assistance we brought Europe in 1917 and 1918.

Of broader significance yet, however, is the necessity of appreciating the revolution that has altered permanently the whole basis of our foreign relations. During the past quarter century and especially in the past six years, the United States has become not merely a world power, but one of the three dominating world powers; and our rise has been accentuated by the disappearance, at least for the moment and as active political factors, of three great empires. An abdication of this position, or an attempt to escape the responsibilities which accompany it, is a material impossibility. Once this fact, with all its implications, is fully accepted by the American people, we can trust our leaders to find the proper means by which we may cooperate with the rest of the world. A blurring of this fact means simply a continuation of the world crisis. The real danger, perhaps, lies not so much in opposition to this particular scheme or that, as in the narrow spirit, outworn remnant of an age that is past, which confuses patriotism with provincialism.

IRELAND FACES THE FUTURE

By SHAW DESMOND

Irish publicist, author of "The Drama of Sinn Fein" and other books on Ireland

Ireland emotionally republican, but intellectually Free State—Personality of Irish leaders—A new form of "Clan" democracy—Progress in agriculture, fisheries, forest conservation, peasant land ownership and education

IRELAND, for the first time in any constructive sense since the Anglo-Irish hostilities concluded with the signing of the treaty with England and the advent of the Irish Free State, faces a national future. At the recent elections for the Dáil Eireann, or Free State Parliament, she returned for the 153 seats vacant, 63 Government (pro-treaty) candidates, 16 Independents (pro-treaty), 15 Labor candidates (all practically pro-treaty), 15 Farmer Party candidates (all pro-treaty) and 44 Republicans (anti-treaty). That is, a pro-treaty majority of over 3 to 1 against the de Valeraites.

What do these figures mean? Viewed quite dispassionately, they mean that the great majority of the electors of the twenty-six counties of Ireland which constitute "Southern Ireland," or the Free State, are tired of fighting and want to get to work. They voted for the treaty because they believed that is the most Ireland can get from England at this juncture and because, except at times of violent national emotion due to the acts of the "Black and Tans" and other causes, the mass of the Irish farmers and shopkeepers, who constitute the matrix of Irish politics, are neither for nor against the connection with the British Empire and want only peace. To them "the treaty" stands for Government by majority; the Republicans for "government by gun."

Ireland is always emotionally "Republican," but intellectually "Free State." This was proved definitely by the Sinn Fein elections. In December, 1918, at the general election, when there was no pressure by Black and Tans, Sinn Fein Republicanism polled only 64 per cent. of the total votes cast. In July, 1920, when

the "Terror" was swiftly developing the Republicans won at the Guardian and District Council elections 78.6 per cent. and 81.2 per cent. of the seats. When the Black and Tans reached the full measure of their activity in June, 1921, the Republicans secured at the County Council elections of that time over 80 per cent. of the seats. That tells the story of Irish mentality in clear and unmistakable terms.

A fact of profound psychological import in connection with the Irish problem is this: That it takes at least a generation to bank up enough energy to produce a national explosion. Neither Eamon de Valera nor any of the other Republican leaders will be able in our time to accumulate enough energy from the Irish people to "touch off" another rebellion. Despite the 44 members in the Dáil, I for one believe that the Free State, whether one is for it or against it, has come to stay for at least a generation, and that de Valera and his friends will gradually disappear from the Irish political arena. That the Republicans held their own in the present elections is due solely to the fact that while the Free Staters polled not much more than half of their available votes, their antagonists probably polled 90 per cent. of theirs. England is now free of Ireland as a political problem for at least one or two decades *unless in the meantime some tremendous European cataclysm should bring about the dissolution of the British Empire.*

The fight of our day and generation, not only in Ireland but throughout the world, is the fight between what may be called "The Imperial Idea" and "The National Idea." The Irishman, unless he be a Unionist, at heart hates the Imperialist

concept. Rome conquered Britain. She could not so easily have conquered Ireland.

The basic fact of Empire is that it rarely rests on that "consent of the governed," beloved of Mr. Lloyd George. So far, England has failed to absorb Ireland, India or Egypt, just as her parallel of two thousand years ago, Rome, failed to absorb her colonies. But, on the other hand, England has succeeded through the signing of the treaty in getting Ireland, for the first time, "to walk into the British Empire," an enormously significant fact if it were based on "wish" and not on "will." Griffith, Collins and the rest signed the treaty *faute de mieux*, and even now the Irish press is full of veiled references to "independence." Mr. James G. Douglas, the Irish Senator who attended the Inter-Parliamentary Union Conference at Copenhagen as representative of his country, has stressed this in a recent letter to the *Freeman's Journal*, pointing out that the Free State "as a *sovereign nation* has applied for full membership in the League of Nations," and that "it is untrue to state that those of us who support the treaty have in any way given up our belief in Ireland's independent nationhood." All this has to be kept steadily in mind when considering the question of the British Empire and the future of Ireland.

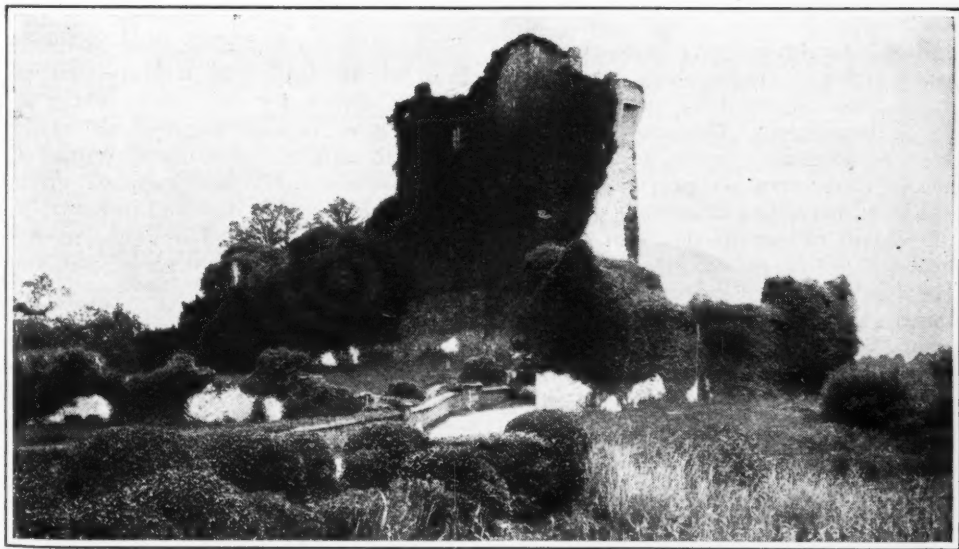
It is certain, however, that English statesmen have gone to the limit of concession in granting the Free State, and it is equally certain that Ireland as a whole recognizes this and will not, save under unforeseen and extraordinary circumstance, make any attempt whatever in our day to break away from the Empire.

PERSONALITY OF IRISH LEADERS

In Ireland, as in America, personality plays the dominating part. In some hundreds of speeches during the recent election, persons and "personalities" constituted four-fifths of the content. That is why the personality of the men who are to lead the Ireland of tomorrow is of prime importance.

The personality of three of Ireland's new leaders—William Cosgrave, Kevin O'Higgins and Professor Eoin MacNeill—is of special interest.

William Cosgrave, President of the Free State, is a man of 43, a pioneer of Sinn Féin, and one of those who took an active part in the 1916 rising. He was released in the general amnesty of 1917. He is a man of rather slight build, of sandy complexion and a serio-comic cast of countenance, which conceals great personal courage and unshakable will. His weakness, like that of so many of his countrymen, is a certain inability to ignore the irritating



Ross Castle, on an island in the lower lake of Killarney, Ireland

pin-pricks of politics in order to go straight to the national goal. But he has carried through the program which he had set himself—the program of breaking the Republican campaign and defeating de Valera. He has a sense of humor, and though he may inspire no very devoted love, neither is he likely to inspire dangerous hate.

Kevin O'Higgins, Minister for Home Affairs and Cosgrave's son-in-law, is a very determined young man, of a certain dour courage tinged with bitterness. He is hated by the Republicans, but he is a man of some calibre and of much ambition—qualities that may carry him far.

Professor Eoin MacNeill, Minister of Education, is a Catholic Ulsterman of great sweetness of disposition, who is a scholar of international fame, as well as a politician. He is much loved, even by his opponents. A son of his was killed while fighting as a Republican against the Free State. With his halo of light, sunny hair, he makes one think involuntarily of a saint in the stained-glass window of some old cathedral.

Neither the intensely conservative Farmers Party nor the Independents have leaders of any special calibre, and this more or less applies to Ireland today as a whole. There is one "dark horse," however, who may yet be heard of, and that is General "Dick" Mulcahy, Minister of Defense, who has one of those "fated" faces of men who are often dragged between conviction and practice and who are but too often, in Ireland at least, doomed to perish by the hand of the assassin. This slender, fragile fighter, of an almost feminine delicacy of face and limb, may yet prove a thorn in the side of his fellow-Ministers and play an important rôle in the future of the Free State.

There is one other leader who should be watched, and that is Jim Larkin, "the Stormy Petrel of Irish politics." Whether Larkin is in the Dáil or out of it, he is today and will be tomorrow the determinative element in Irish labor. It is this unselfish, resolute egotist, of steely eye and iron limb, who has a capacity to win both love and hate unequalled by any other living Irishman; and it is he, implacable Republican and Red Internationalist, in an

island which has not a thousand convinced Bolsheviks within its shores, who is now engaged in a duel to the death with Thomas Johnson, the Englishman, who heads the right wing of the Irish Labor Party, and a typical "moderate" Englishman who is trying to mold Irish labor, always Nationalist first and then Internationalist, upon English trade union lines.

Here we are face to face with one of those curious phenomena of Irish politics which, unknown to the great world, are so often determinative factors in the story of Ireland. We are face to face, first, with a series of personal duels in that remorseless personal vendetta which is part of the political fight for power in Erin. De Valera versus Cosgrave, Larkin versus Johnson and so forth and so on. Secondly, we are witnessing the first challenge to democracy and to "majority rule" which the Irish Republicans first launched through de Valera, Mary MacSwiney and others. Ireland's "democracy" is of a strange order. It is a democracy in which the principle of spiritual aristocracy is always implicit. Though the Irishman may call himself a Democrat, he is at heart always an "aristocrat."

NEW DEMOCRACY UNDER CLAN CHIEFTAINS

The "clan" principle still holds the soul of the Irish Gael. His political leaders are really "chieftains"; the vote itself is but a weapon to be wielded by and for the chief, whether he be Cosgrave, Larkin or Johnson, and we shall yet see in the Ireland of the future an entirely new concept of democracy developing which may shatter the Socialist trend of the modern world toward the counting of hands, and to substitute for it a "spiritual aristocracy" which will involve, instead, "the counting of brains." This is the most interesting social experiment of our time, and may have results far beyond the Irish shores.

It is not only the Republican leaders who have given what may be the death blow to "democracy" in Ireland. The new concept has been and is being discussed alike in Ireland's drawing rooms and in Ireland's cellars. At the same time the Free State leaders will continue to use the phraseology of democracy and will base Ireland's future, nominally at least,



The statue of St. Patrick, patron saint of Ireland, on the hill of Tara (County of Meath), the seat of the old Irish Kings

upon majority rule, and this in a country which is so intensely individualistic that every man and woman may be regarded as a law unto himself or herself! The only co-operation so far understood by the average Irishman is "clan co-operation" under a chief.

To leave the intensely interesting psychological realm and to come to that of economics, we are faced with a country that, through the civil war, has been devastated to the extent of from \$200,000,000 to \$300,000,000—a country faced with a broken Treasury and with the machinery of collection thrown out of gear but not irreparably smashed.

For at least five to ten years, Irish expenditure will be cut down to the irreducible minimum. For some years we shall witness in Ireland the spectacle of a country almost entirely dependent upon individual rather than State effort. One may here venture to predict that, partly because of this and partly through Ire-

land's intense individualism, we shall never see an iron-bound State bureaucracy function in the little island.

Ireland is and always will be mainly an agricultural country. Gigantic industries like Harland & Wolff's shipyards in Belfast and Guinness's breweries in Dublin serve only to accentuate this fact, which Griffith himself stressed to the uttermost.

Sinn Fein never wanted a "factory" Ireland. Ireland can do one of two things, either base her agriculture, as her other industries, upon those of her neighbor, England, or work for an Irish Ireland, and make her industries, like her language and culture, a reflection of the national spirit and genius. In either event England will always be her best customer.

It will take economic Ireland at least five years to get well started, and in the beginning it is hardly likely that any very definite national policy will develop itself. But we are faced with the fact that for her fighting forces the new Free State has had recourse to French models; at one time the Irish leaders tried to get French officers to help in the modeling of the National Army. For her agricultural machinery and methods she is likely to go to America, for Boston is still nearer Dublin than London. Ireland, with a faith that is almost pathetic, looks to men like Henry Ford for her agricultural resurrection.

AGRICULTURE TO BE CENTRALIZED

Already she has in those remarkable men, Sir Horace Plunket and his coadjutor, George Russell, two of the internationally acknowledged expert agriculturists and co-operators of Europe, who, from Plunket House, Dublin, had for years before the Anglo-Irish hostilities built up one of the most promising co-operative movements in the world. It is noteworthy that the only economic point where the rigid Irish individualism breaks down into co-

operation is in the field of agriculture. The co-operative movement, based on the Danish model, is the future hope of economic Ireland.

In the Ireland of the future, as during the past twenty-three years since the passing of the Agricultural and Technical Instruction (Ireland) act in 1899, the centralization of agriculture is to be both goal and method. All agricultural boards and other institutions, however remotely connected with agriculture, are to be united under a State Board or Department of Agriculture. The activities of this board will include, as in the past, such widely divorced matters as the administration of science and art grants, veterinary measures, grants in aid of technical instruction, and so forth. It will no longer include the work connected with Irish fisheries, once the finest in Europe, but will handle fertilizers and feeding stuffs and also afforestation.

When the final report of the Agricultural Commission has been issued, further and far-reaching steps will be taken toward making the farmer help himself by educating him in the best methods rather than by granting him State doles. This education will be carried out, as hitherto, through a system of technological education by trained experts, including creamery, horticulture and tillage experts, who will train the sons of the larger farmers and stewards through a system of agricultural stations and schools. There are to be Winter classes and experiment and demonstration plots in every county of the Free State. On the purely administrative side, the work of the Agriculture Department is to be carried out largely through committees appointed by the County Councils, these councils, indeed, being the backbone of the administration of the future Ireland, which is developing a sort of "local Soviet" system minus Bolshevism and based to a degree upon the local autonomy of the old Russian village councils. With all this will go training colleges for women in rural domestic economy, dairying and poultry keeping, and so forth.

The old Congested Districts Board, first founded by an English statesman, Mr. A. J. Balfour (now Lord Balfour), has laid the basis for the establishment of a na-

tional fishing fleet and a national afforestation bureau. Within the last two years I have visited stations of this board along some hundreds of miles of the west coast. England has 3,000 steam trawlers, the Free State only nine. What the Free State desires to create is a home demand for Irish caught fish and to interest Irish capital in what has hitherto been a financially starved industry of large potentialities. Already a staff of experts has been appointed for the purpose of studying the habits and movements of the fish, and the nucleus of a national fleet is being collected.

But behind all the agricultural and other problems discussed in this article lies one eternal, infernal problem—that of the land. If that be solved, all is solved! The story of the land struggle in Ireland is, in a sense, the story of Ireland herself. It is the story of Davitt's Land League in the eighties and, beginning with Gladstone's Land act of 1881, of a series of statutes passed in quick succession and culminating in the famous Wyndham act at the beginning of the century which sought to provide a scheme of land purchase by which the farmer could own his own farm after a certain number of years.

The problem gradually resolved itself into the best method of getting the land out of the hands of the rack-rent landlords and into the hands of the tenants, either by compulsory purchase or voluntary sale.

PEASANT LAND OWNERSHIP

The land policy of the future Ireland will not be on the lines of State ownership, favored by Michael Davitt, but on those of peasant proprietorship. The Land bill now introduced by the Free State Government is destined to complete this transfer to the peasant proprietor. The problem is beset with difficulties: First, the satisfaction of those tenants who have not yet purchased their holdings; second, the question of arrears of rent; and lastly, the satisfaction of the land-hunger of what are known as "the landless men."

Already there are over 398,000 holdings, comprising some 13,200,000 acres either already vested under previous Land Purchase operations or awaiting advances. The sales have actually been completed

in the case of 351,000 of these holdings. The Government will have some 4,000,000 acres of largely untenanted land, on which 70,000 holdings can be made available, and some of which the Government intends to use to satisfy the craving of the landless man. But the real crux of the problem lies in the fact that there are only 850,000 acres of such land in the Free State available for this purpose.

It should be remembered that there are 32,000 holdings in Ireland above 100 acres; 200,000 of from 30 to 70 acres; and 214,000 under 15 acres, the bulk of which cannot be worked at a profit.

Financially, the Free State plans to convert the agricultural rents remaining into "purchase annuities," to reduce rents fixed before 1911 by 35 per cent., and rents fixed after that time by 30 per cent. In addition to this the Government has produced a simple scheme of capitalization of annuities at $4\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., of which $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. will form the sinking fund, the owners to be paid $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonds. With a 10 per cent. Government bonus, the scheme finally resolves itself into about fifteen years' purchase for the old rents and sixteen years' for the new. The untenanted lands are to be dealt with sepa-

rately by Estates Commissioners. This involves in all some \$100,000,000 for the cost of transfer.

The agricultural Ireland of the future will thus be one of peasant proprietorship with the landlord gone forever, and administered under a scientific method second to none in the world, through co-operation.

GAELIC EDUCATION

The national education of the future Ireland is one of vast possibilities. The Education Ministry itself defines its objects as (1) the development of national culture in its widest sense; and (2) the development of the individuality of the Irish citizen on this basis of national culture. The future Irishman is to be bilingual, and to effect this "the training schools and colleges of the nation are to be Gaelicized" and "the most enslaving features of the English system removed." Education is to be entirely individualistic and "spiritual," which it is somewhat paradoxically contended, through development of character will produce a maximum of human effort in the completed citizen and achieve the best economic result.

The teaching of Irish will be compulsory in every primary school within school



A typical Irish village

hours. The Protestant schools are in many places showing greater proficiency in Irish than the Catholic schools. Irish is now a compulsory subject for teachers in the six established training colleges. It has been found in actual practice that the learning of Irish by both child and teacher enormously improves their English.

The Irish educationalist regards the distinction between "primary" and "secondary" education as purely artificial; so that in the future both grades of education will be co-ordinated and secondary schools will be open to the masses. In this, as in so much else, America is being taken as the model.

I believe we shall see a "Gaelic" Ireland in the future, but it will take at least two generations to make the Irish language, of which some 800,000 people had knowledge at the turn of the century, the national language and at least on a par with English. As is known, it has, fortunately for the Irish child, a tremendous literature and mythology behind it.

In the thirty-two counties of Ireland (including the six counties of Ulster or "Northern Ireland") there are a little over 4,000,000 people. Of these, roughly, 1,200,000 are Protestant. In the six counties into which Ulster has been segregated under the "Partition Act," there are 1,250,531 souls, the population of Tyrone and Fermanagh, which have a Catholic majority, being 204,501. The population of the remaining four Ulster counties is 1,046,030, of whom 30 per cent. are Catholics. Belfast, itself, has nearly 300,000 Protestants and also a large Catholic population. Ten per cent. of the Protestants of the original nine counties of Ulster were Home Rulers and are now probably Free Staters. The "Ulster problem" is explained by these figures.

Given tranquillity and stable government for a decade, and with it the removal of the annoyance of the present trade restrictions between Ulster and the Free State, then the business sense of the hard-headed Ulsterman with his essential "Irishness," will, I believe, see *pourparlers* opened for the coming of Ulster into the Free State, and with it the materialization of the dream of a "United Ireland," despite all Ulster denial. Every Free Stater wants

Ulster in the future Ireland. But this possibility is subject to the thousand mischances that may easily occur in a country like Ireland, a country which has never yet been able to develop national cohesion and with it "national consciousness."

The two pivots upon which the future Ireland will turn either to destruction or construction are, first, the possible refusal of the Protestant-Unionist section (300,000 strong) to be absorbed in the Free State; and, secondly, the possibility of a national vendetta between disgruntled Republicans and their Free State adversaries, embittered by the executions and murders during the civil war.

The mass of the Southern Unionists have already declared themselves good Free Staters. It is their "surrender," as the Protestant Ulstermen would today call it, which ultimately will pave the way for the coming of Ulster herself into a United Ireland.

The possibility of a national vendetta between the Free State and the Irish Republicans seems hardly a probability. There may be local vendettas, but at heart the Republicans are as anxious as the Free Staters for a United Ireland, in view of the danger of a new English incursion in the event of a renewal of civil war. "We don't want the English back!" is the slogan of both sides. Bowing to the inevitable, the *de Valera* faction, though keeping to its conviction of the desirability of separation from the British Empire, will gradually find itself part of a permanent Free State.

Like all my countrymen I am an incurable optimist. Despite the difficulties that beset the path of a United Ireland, I believe that many now living will see the consummation so devoutly to be desired; will see the day come when England will concede to Ireland the recognition which she has already conceded to her other Dominions, including the right of secession, a concession which would do more to make the present somewhat artificial link of empire integral and permanent than anything else, and which would help to bring about that Free Commonwealth of Nations of which the more enlightened spirits of our epoch dream.

LORD MORLEY'S PLACE IN HISTORY

By H. W. MASSINGHAM

Recognized by all schools of opinion as one of the most distinguished British publicists of the present generation; former editor of *The London Daily Chronicle*; editor of *The (London) Nation*, 1907-1923

Both as man of letters and as statesman Morley on the same level as Edmund Burke—The philosopher of British Liberalism and Rationalism—His part in paving the way for self-government in Ireland and India.

WITH the passing of John Morley, full of years and honors, the world loses the most famous of the philosophic Liberals of the nineteenth century, and the only one of that remarkable band who has played a conspicuous part in the history of Great Britain as well as in the formation of its political and religious opinions. Morley's career in this respect is unique. Like Burke he was a combination of orator, philosopher, and statesman. He cannot be said to compare with that great man in the originality and range of his conceptions, nor with all their eloquence of power and phrasing, do his best speeches, in or out of Parliament, compare in moral force or intellectual grandeur with Burke's. But Lord Morley was able to add a crown to his career which was denied to the master from whom he learned so much.

Burke had two brief periods of office as Paymaster General. But Morley became an important member of a British Cabinet, a part author of two great measures which paved the way to a free Ireland, and a pioneer of the cause of Indian self-government. Burke as deeply interested in Ireland and in India, but he was never able to say with John Morley that he had written his name deep in their legislative history. There is a second point of difference, which is worth emphasizing as we look back on Morley's now finished career. Burke, a champion of liberty if ever there was one, ended his life in a desperate struggle to preserve a dying political order. Morley's fate was more fortunate. All, or nearly all, public men tend to conservatism as they grow old, and Morley was not

exempt from this infirmity. But on the whole the great Liberal remained a Liberal and a democrat to his death. The three articles of his creed were the supremacy of reason over authority, the supersession of the reign of force by that of justice and right, and the superior worth of representative institutions over all the forces and devices of autocratic power. These great doctrines Morley taught in many a volume of history, biography, and criticism. They are the great ornament of his career as well as the pith and soul of his witness to his time. He was not, like Bismarck or Lincoln, the leader of a nation in a mighty convulsion or the author of a deeply planned and powerfully wrought scheme of polity. He was never even the chief of a party organization. But it has been given to few men to exercise so profound an intellectual influence on the political thought of their age, and at the same time to have so large a share in molding its institutions.

A EUROPEAN MIND

The career of which these are the salient fruits was one of singular length, variety and distinction. Morley was in himself a figure of unusual attraction. But he was also conspicuous for association, in intimate friendship, with the masters of European thought and action. He has himself described his relation with John Stuart Mill as one of discipleship. Mill has today somewhat passed out of the memory of his countrymen, but if his late and early political teaching are taken together, it may fairly be said that the reforms of the Liberal period—the spread of

the representative principle and its extension to women, the adoption of national education, the enfranchisement of the universities and the trade unions—bear the stamp of his mind more than that of any other Englishman. But when Mill died, his influence had only begun to work, and the task of welding his ideas into the mind of Liberal leaders and the fabric of Liberal government, was largely committed to his faithful and deeply attached follower. But Morley was more than a Millite or a Liberal politician. He had the European mind and culture, and among his closest associates were the intellectual giants who changed men's thoughts, not merely on the institutions of their country, but on the universe and the scheme of things. At home, Darwin and Spencer; and the group of Positivists, led by Harrison, Cotter Morrison, Beesly; and the poets and romancers, George Eliot, Swinburne, Meredith; on the Continent, Taine and Renan, Hugo, Mazzini, Louis Blanc, Gambetta, Clemenceau; could all be termed associates or friends of Morley in the work of liberating men's minds from the grasp of authority in religion, or formal allegiance to outworn customs and forms of government, and passing traditions in literature.

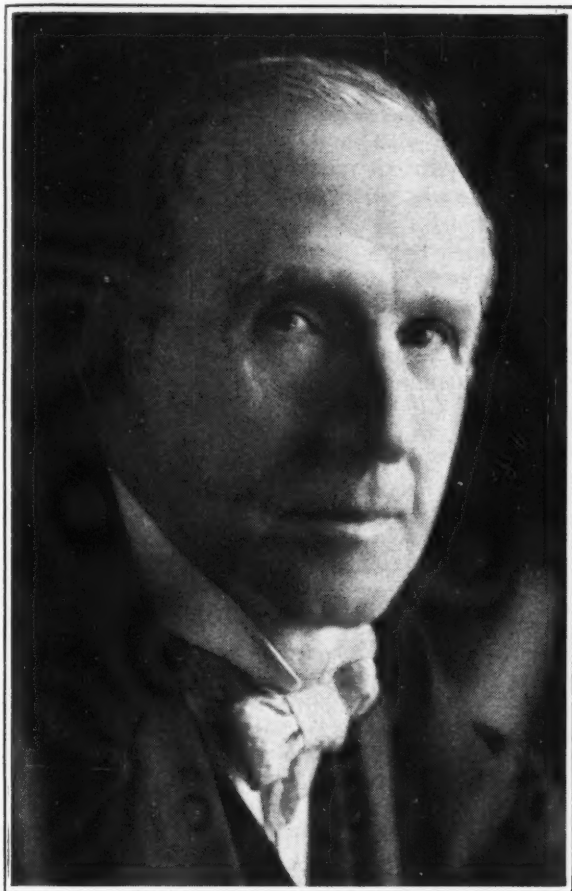
IMPORTANCE OF "COMPROMISE"

Morley's long career divided itself naturally into three parts—his work as an editor and journalist, his literary effort, with its exposition of the philosophy of Rationalism and of the mighty minds of the eighteenth century in which it took shape, and his political service as the lieutenant of Gladstone and his most intimate associate in the development of the home rule policy, with, as a finishing episode, his Indian Secretaryship and resignation on the ground that he felt himself unable, with his long tradition as a pacifist thinker and statesman, to take part in the active direction of war. Morley's journalism is now a memory over which time has cast its shadow. Its first notable success was achieved in *The Saturday Review*, and a volume now out of print, and not acknowledged by its illustrious author, contains a selection of the articles he wrote for it under Douglas Cook's editorship.

A much more important and fruitful

association was his long editorship of *The Fortnightly Review*. It is safe to say that for its influence on English thought and politics, for the unequaled authority of its leading contributions, and for its consistently high standard of expression, no periodical published in the English language ever approached it. But the editor's contribution was the most remarkable of all. Some of his most finished literary work—and Morley was nearly always finished—appeared in its pages, but the most lasting, as well as the most attractive monument of his thought and personality, was the famous series of essays on "Compromise." There Morley spoke not merely as a writer, but as a teacher, almost a prophet of his times. The doctrine of unfaltering loyalty to conscience and belief, the duty of the clear, firm, unqualified utterance of opinion, the refusal to acquiesce in conventional standards which one has ceased to hold, all these truths and aspirations of the human mind, expressed in magnificent prose, found in Morley a sincere and modern expositor. The book had a great effect. It is not too much to say that it set many young minds on the spiritual path, and that it raised the tone of political and religious thought in the great controversies of the second half of the nineteenth century. It was always Morley's gift, uncompromising Rationalist as he was, to speak a tongue which the religious man could comprehend.

Morley's second venture in constructive journalism was his editorship of *The Pall Mall Gazette*. Here his aim was directly political. He now became the associate and intimate personal friend of Joseph Chamberlain, then the rising hope of English Radicalism. And his editorship had important political consequences. Throughout his life Morley was an anti-Jingo, a hater of war and the imperialism which he believed made for war. He was opposed to a British occupation of Egypt, and he was a vehement critic of the coercion of Ireland, on which the second Gladstone Government had entered, with much misgiving on the part of its chief. This policy Morley set himself to destroy, with the object of substituting the later Gladstonian recourse to the idea of government by consent, that is, by the people



VISCOUNT MORLEY OF BLACKBURN

Known before his elevation to the British peerage as John Morley

of Ireland. His crusade was a complete success. Morley was not a sensational writer; with flashes of fire and an undercurrent of emotional intensity he wrote in the main for intellectuals, and in a calm, rational spirit. But he was completely master of his subject, he had the exact, well-documented style of the best French journalism, and he possessed the tone of authority. In fact, he had converted Gladstone, and when the Irish Secretary and the prime agent of the coercionist policy, W. E. Forster, fell, the axe had been laid to the "upas tree." The man who struck the first resounding blow was John Morley.

But Morley's journalism, important and even vital to the new Liberalism as it was,

had its root in the effort to which he owes his place in English literature. His brilliant study of Burke was written in 1867. It was soon followed by the famous monographs on Voltaire, Diderot and Rousseau, which, while they furnish the most finished and instructive picture in English letters of the great Rationalists and Humanists of the eighteenth century, and of the Encyclopaedia, the colossal work in which they gave the new scientific knowledge and the new revolutionary thought to the world, enabled Morley to make his own contribution to the moral and intellectual life of his times. Let there be no mistake. Morley was no anarchist, no disciple of Rousseau's doctrine of "natural rights." He was a reformer, always siding with the school, in its earlier and later manifestations, which based its effort for the betterment of men's lot in the world on the theory that what experiences teaches us is best for the general happiness, not on a complete rearrangement of the social scene, irrespective of the limits of human nature, and the light which history throws on its workings. In a word, he was a utilitarian, not an idealist; a disciple of Mill, not of Rousseau.

But there was one direction in which Morley was prepared to go far. He painted the fallen French Church and corrupt French society of the eighteenth century in language which was meant to be a lesson to the nineteenth. And he laid stress on the positive, emancipating ideas of the Revolution. Its dogma of equality led to the establishment of justice, the "pole-star of all social effort." It had established the sense of public duty, the consciousness of moral obligation in the rulers of a State. And it re-established the Christian doctrine of brotherhood. It made politics, in a word, "a special and very exalted branch of public morals."

It was these beliefs and this attitude of mind which Morley applied to the British

Liberal Party, which owes so much to his teaching and personal influence. He never became a Socialist, indeed, there was a period in his career when he may be said to have sacrificed his prospects of becoming leader of the Liberal Party and Prime Minister of England to his resistance to the Eight Hours' bill for miners. But he and Joseph Chamberlain between them—and Chamberlain was in all matters of political theory Morley's pupil—laid the foundations of the Radicalism of the '70s and the '80s. A doctrine like that of "Compromise" had gone thorough the young of those days like a flame. Men of all creeds caught fire at its proclamation of fidelity to truth, and the unflinching statement of unpopular opinion. The political England of those days was undoubtedly led from the platform. But the platform had learned its lessons in the study, and the prime teacher was John Morley.

ASSOCIATION WITH CHAMBERLAIN

Thus equipped with a European culture far superior to that of any of his contemporaries except Lord Acton, wider than Gladstone's and more literary and poetic than that of Lord Bryce, and with a power, only second to his great chief's, of expressing moral ideas in speech no less than in writing, Morley at once stepped into a leading place in the Liberal hierarchy. As a Parliamentary speaker he made no great mark, save for his inalienable distinction of manner and style. But on the platform he soon enjoyed a singular power of influencing the course of politics as well as what may be called the moral thinking of the Liberal Party. His early association was not with Gladstone but with Chamberlain, the Liberal-Radical program that was to have been but for the intervention of Ireland was the work of these two men, and their friendship was as that of brothers. But suddenly there came the crisis in which Irish Nationalism held the balance in the Parliament of 1885, the first elected on a democratic suffrage in the country districts as well as in the towns. Gladstone decided for home rule, to which, influenced by Morley's journalism in *The Pall-Mall Gazette*, he had long been tending; while Chamberlain, irritated

by Gladstone's failure to consult him as to the new departure, refused to go an inch further than his accepted policy of National Councils. Gladstone instantly made his choice for Morley, and the ensuing Irish bills, and the long interval of waiting for the conversion of the British constituencies, could never have been sustained but for Morley's double share in them of a diligent workman in Cabinet and in the study, and an inspirer of the old gospel of self-government in its new application to the Irish problem. Chamberlain, with his impatient temper, his growing tendency to Imperialism, and his personal dislike of Gladstone, could never have achieved the work which Morley accomplished in the course of his Gladstonian discipleship.

When Gladstone left the scene was changed, and Morley made what in the interests of his own career, and of the Liberalism in which he was interested, must be judged to have been a bad choice for his successor. Lord Rosebery, the new Prime Minister, was not Gladstone's choice, but he was the Queen's and the Cabinet's, and Morley adhered to Rosebery for reasons which seemed to him sufficient. Harcourt, later on the close associate of Morley in the Liberal Opposition to Roseberyian Protection and Chamberlainite Imperialism, had made himself personally impossible, and, in fact, Rosebery was inevitable.

OPPOSED TO THE WAR

The last phase of Morley's career saw him an uneasy member of the Asquith Cabinet, an associate, though not a protagonist in the war with the House of Lords, and the author of the measures, legislative and administrative, which opened the door to self-government in India. He had difficulties. The Liberal group in the House of Commons which supported the reforms disliked the reserves which Morley placed on their scope, and his apparent indifference to the restraints which, in a period of great unrest, the Government of India had placed on the liberties of Indian politicians of the more advanced type. But in the end his cautious wisdom was justified. The reforms passed, and Morley, conscious of declining physical powers, stepped quietly into the House of Lords.

One other part he was destined to play in the life of his times. There is no doubt that he and a minority of the Cabinet viewed with disappointment the rapid alienation of England and Germany, and did not think that enough had been done to keep the two countries together. When the final breach came Morley, the apostle of peace, the advocate of reason and of the rule of international order, felt that he could not be a party to what he foresaw must be a long and terrible reign of violence.

Morley's place in history depends in some degree on what becomes of Europe. If it sinks once more into a scene of anarchy and bloodshed, men will look to the life and teachings of John Morley with growing reverence for their truthfulness. In any case, though he can hardly be termed an original thinker, he has written things which cannot die. He must indeed be counted among the great skeptics, who, rejecting the supernatural side of Christianity, stress its humanities, and apply them to soften the hard lot of man and present the eternal difference between right and wrong in the conduct of States and men's lives. He is also, be it remembered, a master of English prose. There is nothing cold about Morley's writing, though the passion which inspires its recurring strain of eloquent reflection is that of the philosopher rather than of the saint. It will indeed be long before such passages as the famous soliloquy on death in his "Voltaire" will altogether pass from men's memories:

If he no longer believes death to be a stroke from the sword of God's justice, but the leaden footfall of an inflexible law of matter, the humility of his awe is deepened and the tenderness of his pity made holier, that creatures who love so much should have their days so shut round with a wall of darkness. The purifying anguish of remorse will be stronger, not weaker, when he has trained himself to look upon every wrong in thought, every duty omitted from act, each infringement of the inner spiritual law which humanity is constantly perfecting for its own guidance and advantage, less as a breach of the decrees of an unseen tribunal, than as an ungrateful infection, weakening and corrupting the future of his brothers; and he will be less effectually raised from inmost prostration of soul by a doubtful subjective reconciliation, so meanly comfortable to his own individuality, than by

hearing full in the ear the sound of the cry of humanity craving sleepless succor from her children. That swelling consciousness of light and freedom with which the old legend of an omnipresent Divine Majesty fills the breast, may still remain, for how shall the universe ever cease to be a sovereign wonder of overwhelming power and superhuman fixedness of law? And a man will be already in no mean paradise, if at the hour of sunset a good hope can fall upon him like harmonies of music, that the earth shall still be fair, and the happiness of every feeling creature still receive a constant augmentation, and each good cause yet find worthy defenders, when the memory of his own poor name and personality has long been blotted out of the brief recollection of men for ever.

Of Morley at least it can be said that his mind remained open to the last to the "tenderness of pity," as his life was filled with a "good hope" for humanity, and a long endeavor in its service.

FACTS OF MORLEY'S LIFE

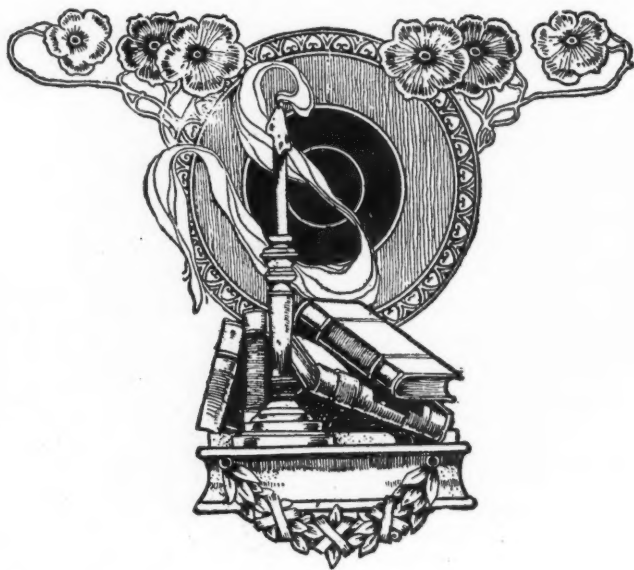
[The actual facts of Morley's life are these: He was born at Blackburn in the cotton manufacturing region of Lancashire on Dec. 24, 1838. His father, Jonathan Morley, was a well-known local surgeon, who sent him to be educated at Cheltenham and Lincoln College, Oxford. He was at Oxford from 1856 to 1859, when he obtained his degree and went to London with the intention of seeking literary fame. His first efforts were directed to reviving the moribund Literary Gazette, and when it failed in 1861, Morley began as a free lance journalist to write on political and philosophical subjects for the better reviews. He became a convert to Comte's Positivism at this period and about the same time as Frederic Harrison. Morley's attitude toward religion then was indicated by his spelling "God" with a small "g" in one of his essays.

From 1868 to 1870 he was editor of *The Morning Star*. He had in 1867 succeeded G. H. Lewes (well known for his association with George Eliot as well as for his literary work) as editor of *The Fortnightly Review*, which he conducted until 1883. In his earlier literary period Morley read manuscripts for Macmillan & Co. and in 1878 began to edit their *English Men of Letters* series, his own contribution being his famous work on Burke, which was an expansion of the article he

wrote for the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in 1876. It was in 1880 that Morley began to edit *The Pall Mall Gazette*, which he made an organ of Liberal opinion until it came under Astor control. In 1883, after two unsuccessful attempts to enter the House of Commons, he was elected to represent Newcastle-on-Tyne, and in 1886 he was chosen by Gladstone as Irish Secretary, with a seat in the Cabinet. His opposition to the Eight Hours bill led in 1895 to his losing his seat in Parliament, but subsequently he returned to the House of Commons as the member for Montrose Burghs, a Scottish constituency. Morley resigned the Irish Secretaryship for the second time in 1895. From 1898 until the return to power of the Liberals under Campbell-Bannerman in 1905, Morley was in Opposition, criticizing the Government's conduct of the war in South Africa, but devoting himself chiefly to his literary work and building a still greater reputation as a writer. On the return of the Liberals to office, Morley became Secretary of State for India, and remained in that position when Asquith succeeded Campbell-Bannerman as Prime Minister. On May 2, 1908, he was created

the first Viscount Morley of Blackburn. He ceased to be Indian Secretary in 1910, when he took the less onerous position of Lord President of the Council (that is, of the Privy Council). This was his office on the outbreak of war in 1914. Here his political career ended, for with John Burns he resigned from the Cabinet, though not openly declaring himself against the war.

A complete edition of Morley's works was published in 1921, including in addition to the works already mentioned his monographs on *Voltaire* (written in 1872), on *Rousseau*, *Diderot* and the *Encyclopaedists*, on *Walpole*, *Cromwell* and *Cobden*, his monumental life of *Gladstone* (published in 1903), and his volumes of essays entitled "*Studies in Literature*." Many honors were showered on him during his lifetime. He received honorary degrees from the leading universities, was made a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, where he had been admitted as a barrister in 1873, and was decorated with the Order of Merit, the highest distinction in the gift of the King. In 1902 Andrew Carnegie presented Morley with Lord Acton's famous library, and Morley in turn conveyed it to the University of Cambridge.]



FATE OF GERMAN REPUBLIC IN THE BALANCE

By HANS DELBRUECK

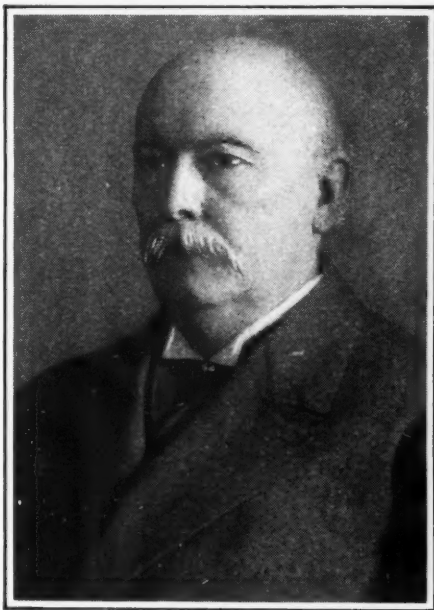
Professor of Modern History at the University of Berlin; former member of the Reichstag; author of "Friedrich, Napoleon, Moltke, Ancient and Modern Strategy" and other works of military and political history

Majority of German people formerly opposed to republic now favor it—Chances of a monarchistic restoration slight—French desire to crush Germany the greatest menace—Present situation ominous—New war against France may bring the end of the republic

THE question of the stability of the German Republic, founded in 1918, has been one of absorbing interest to all students of history, and this interest has been deepened and intensified by the recent abandonment of passive resistance in the Ruhr by the Stresemann Government, and the lamentable disorders and bloodshed that have followed the announcement of Germany's surrender. The German Republic, caught between the triple fires lighted by the Bavarian reactionaries, the Rhine separatists and the German Communists, may well seem to the observer to be threatened with destruction. Over all looms France, who, every evidence indicates, wishes that destruction, for which she has consistently and ceaselessly worked.

The German Republic—will it endure or will it fail? It is a curious and important fact that the overwhelming majority of the German people was against the republican form of government as late as the Fall of 1918, and that they would have preferred to retain the old régime, provided it were modernized by the adoption of certain democratic reforms. In reality the revolution was nothing else but the mutiny of the army, which did not encounter any opposition for the simple reason that President Wilson had held out the hope of a peace on the basis of his fourteen articles, on condition that Germany broke off all relations with the Hohenzollern dynasty. Professor Preuss, former Secretary of State, who elaborated the Constitution of the German Republic in

Weimar, characterized the situation in a striking manner when he declared: "Before Nov. 9, 1918, there were no republicans in Germany; after Nov. 9 there were no monarchists." If we remember how hard it was for the English and the French to accomplish the transition from the monarchy to popular government, we are more inclined to ask whether the German Republic, founded under such circumstances, can be of long duration. Nations are usually victims of the illusion that the



International

DR. HANS DELBRUECK

days of yore, when kings were rulers, were days of happiness and prosperity. As an old American poem puts it: "In the good old Colonial times, when we lived under a King."

Similar as the events of history may very often be, they do not repeat themselves. Analogies are not conclusive. In the present case, one must weigh the circumstances that tend to uphold or to destroy the present form of government in Germany. There are people in Germany who wish and work for the restoration—officers and soldiers of the Imperial Army. Government officials, a considerable part of the "society people" who have lost their former influence. All nations cherish the glory of their ancestors. No wonder that the great days of Frederick the Great, of the war of independence against Napoleon, of Kaiser Wilhelm I. and of Bismarck still dwell in the memory of some people despite the terrible defeat which terminated the imperial rule of the Hohenzollerns. The majority of the German people, however, are not monarchists. All groups of the great Social-Democratic Party are determined to support and to defend the republic under all circumstances, although before 1918 they had been only theoretical republicans who did not even dare to think of the practical realization of their ideal. A great part of the bourgeoisie join hands with them, not because they are convinced theoretically of the superiority of the republican form of government, but because they realize that it is only under this form of government that the existence of the German nation is assured. Return to the monarchy, they believe, would mean civil and external wars as well as the dismemberment of Germany. In this group there are many distinguished people who formerly enjoyed personal acquaintance with the Kaiser; many of them cannot forgive the ex-Emperor for abandoning his army at the last minute and fleeing to Holland. I, on my part, do not think that this reproach is justified, for I cannot be persuaded that at that time the Kaiser could have done anything else. There is no doubt, however, that the number of those who blame him on this score is considerable.

One is further confronted with the ques-

tion, What form would a monarchical restoration assume? Germany is not a national unity. The Kaiser was only highest in rank of the 22 smaller princes, among whom there were three kings, those of Bavaria, Saxony and Württemberg. Should all these 22 princes return, even the petty monarchs of Weimar, Lippe and Reuss, or only the kings? This would mean the breaking up of the empire. The small princes were indispensable because they formed the connecting link between the Kaiser and the Kings. Should only the Kaiser return, and should a monarchical unity be established? This would be impossible because the South Germans, the Bavarians and the inhabitants of Württemberg would not recognize the Hohenzollerns. The Prussians, on the other hand, would not accept any Bavarian Wittelsbach as their emperor.

GERMANY NOT A UNITY

If Germany were a unity, as France is, and if she had not had any other dynasty than that of the Hohenzollerns, I would not think it improbable that sooner or later a monarchist restoration would be attempted. But the difficulties inherent in the system of Federal States are not to be overcome. In France similar difficulties arose which assured the final victory of the republican form of government. In the France of the nineteenth century (that of the Bourbons, of the Orleans and of Napoleon) not one, but three, dynasties aspired to the throne. In 1873 it looked very probable that Count Chambord, of the House of Bourbons, would be elevated to the throne with the help of Marshal MacMahon. The restoration came to nought because of the refusal of Count Chambord to recognize the Tricolor and his insistence to uphold the rights of the white flag of his forefathers.

Similar attempts to re-establish monarchy in Germany, however strong they may be in principle, will encounter the same difficulty when translated into practice, namely, the ambiguous, ever-shifting conception of the goal itself, viz., monarchy.

A trial recently held in Munich of certain royalists charged with conspiracy furnishes the best evidence of the inner



Keystone

THE EX-CROWN PRINCE OF GERMANY
A recent portrait made since he has been
in exile in Holland

dissensions of the German royalists. The conspirators agreed only in their hatred of the republic and their belief in the necessity of struggling against it, but they differed essentially in their view of the aim and method of this struggle. They first wanted to restore the kingdom of the Wittelsbachs in Bavaria. But what then? Some of them had a hazy notion that after the restoration Bavaria would be the "healthy spot" of regeneration for the whole of Germany. Some of them inversely thought that Bavaria would disengage herself from the Reich and join hands with Austria.

In the background of this movement looms General von Ludendorff, who for a considerable time has had his residence in Munich. Colonel Bauer, his confidant, against whom the German authorities have issued a warrant of arrest, is living in Vienna. Nobody knows what the monarchists are striving after. On the other hand, the Austrian General von Krauss, one of the most conspicuous officers of the former imperial army, who heads a

movement in Austria the purpose of which is to defend Germanism against the aggressive small nationalities—Czechs, Hungarians, Serbs and Italians—made a statement in which he accused General von Ludendorff and Colonel Bauer of treason committed against the national idea.

The Munich trial shows that there is a reactionary movement in Germany and that it is very active. But it shows at the same time that this movement is paralyzed by inner dissensions. Necessarily it has to march under the banner of national unity, although the forces on which it leans are centrifugal. One is inclined to doubt that a movement suffering from such dissensions will ever be successful. General von Ludendorff, who even during the war never knew what he wanted, and who, although he struck a few powerful blows, never proved himself to be a real strategist, shows once again, in his leadership of post-war reaction in Germany, his unsteadiness of purpose. The recent monarchist occupation of the fortress of Kues-trin (Oct. 1) was not seriously considered by the German Government.

CROWN PRINCE FOR REPUBLIC

One understands, in view of these considerations, why sober-minded and prudent people, even among the conservatives and the theoretical monarchists, not only do not approve of attempts at the restoration of the monarchy in Germany, but are even hostile to such attempts. It is a fact of the utmost importance that the man upon whom the realization of all these hopes is conditioned, the heir to the throne which the monarchists desire to restore—Crown Prince Wilhelm—belongs to this group. Almost two years ago he declared this quite unequivocally in a pronouncement the significance of which was not duly appreciated either in Germany or abroad. On Oct. 15, 1921, Crown Prince Wilhelm wrote a letter to Professor Zorn, his old teacher, who published the communication on Feb. 1, 1922. This letter read in part as follows:

I myself believe that the question whether the nation shall be a republic or a monarchy must not be broached, in view of the present precarious conditions against which the Fatherland is struggling. As you well know, I have

always held the view that the monarch exists for the sake of the people, and not the people for the sake of the monarch. After the frightful upheaval of 1918, the consequences of which grow every day more oppressive, the National Assembly, elected by the German people, adopted by a vote of the majority the republican form of government. Thus the Constitution of Weimar—whatever faults one may find with it—has become a fact. My personal opinion that for various reasons the monarchy can better serve the interest of the people should not be considered here. Any form of government is a blessing for the people today if it is based upon a stable Constitution approved by the majority of the people. Hence, no form of government can maintain itself in the long run unless it is supported by a vote of confidence of the majority of the laborers.

Unfortunately, the Government did not have the courage to use this letter forthwith to the best advantage. The apprehension was prevalent that if the Crown Prince returned to Germany he would become the centre of the reactionary movement. People did not see that this would have been against the interest of the Crown Prince himself. It would have been easy for the Government to have had him write a formal letter to the President of the republic setting forth the opinion he had already expressed in his letter to Professor Zorn and pledging himself to abstain from any political agitation. This could have been easily controlled.

For the last five years the Crown Prince has been living on a solitary island of the Zuider Zee, in Holland, far away from his wife and his children. His fate elicits general compassion and, contrary to his own desire and wish, the rôle of a martyr is assigned to him. Some hot-headed partisans of the monarchy make no secret of their wish that he should continue to play this rôle, because it furthers their own purposes. But he himself has already suffered too much to sacrifice himself now for an idea which, as he quite clearly sees, cannot be realized. If he lived in Germany he would make all efforts to check the reactionary activities, which, without him, would be quite powerless. It is evident that a monarchy needs a monarch more than anything else. The Prince has ceased to be a pretender to the throne; otherwise he would not have complained at the end of his letter addressed to Pro-

fessor Zorn that he is not permitted to participate in the reconstruction of his native country with the limited share of duties of a private individual. Whatever one may think of the return of the Prince, it must be conceded that the circumstances mentioned are of very great importance for the stability of the republican Constitution.

THE MENACE OF FRENCH POLICY

All considerations bearing upon the internal political situation are, however, only of secondary importance if compared with the influence of external political events which vitally affect the future of Germany's form of government. It was not internal forces that overthrew the imperial régime in November, 1918, but influences from abroad. Similarly, the question whether the Republic will survive is one of international character which will not be decided in Germany. Nothing is more apt to stabilize a Government than external success. Nothing is more apt to endanger it than lasting failures.

Undoubtedly the existence of the Republic will be assured if it succeeds in lifting the German people out of the misery into which it was plunged at the end of the war and secures for it an adequate and permanent living basis. But there is one power in the world which does not want this. The French are moved by deep hatred of the Germans and by an ever-present fear of the Germany of the future. They repeat over and over again that if the Germans are suffered to become a prosperous and strong nation they will revenge themselves on France. This explains why the paramount political idea of the French is to keep Germany poverty-stricken and weak, and, as far as possible, to break up the German Empire, so that the future of France shall be assured forever. There are 20,000,000 Germans too many, said M. Clemenceau. Germany has 60,000,000 inhabitants, while France has only 40,000,000, and the Germans are increasing more rapidly than the French.

The Treaty of Versailles furnishes the leaders of French policy the most convenient means to keep down Germany. By the fourteen articles of Wilson Germany was assured that she would have to pay only for the damage done to the civilian

inhabitants of the enemy countries during the war. Under the pretext that the demobilized soldiers belonged to the "civilian inhabitants," however, the reparation total was increased to a point where the question of establishing German liability became negligible, and the Allies spoke only of the limit of her capacity.

Where, however, is this limit? The Germans assert that they have done their utmost to meet their obligations, and point out that, as a consequence, their exchange is completely ruined. Today one has to pay millions of marks to the dollar, instead of the pre-war value of four marks. On the other hand, the French assert that this proves only malicious intent on the part of the Germans who had allegedly ruined their finances in order to evade their liability to pay reparations. The Germans offer as a solution an investigation by an impartial commission. The French retort that their claim is so just and moderate that there is no need for the intervention of a neutral commission. The Germans reply to this that if the French claim is really so just and moderate, they cannot see why the French refuse to accept a neutral court of arbitration. The French rebuttal is that they cannot in principle

accept the arbitration of a court in a question which affects their vital interests.

AIM TO CRUSH GERMANY

Under these circumstances it is natural that the conviction is prevalent in Germany that the aim of France is not to obtain payments on account of reparations, but to advance such exaggerated claims that they cannot be fulfilled by Germany, so that France will be free to impose new "sanctions" (penalties), thereby breaking up Germany and keeping her in a powerless condition.

At the Munich trial it was found that the monarchistic conspirators had cooperated with the French General Staff. A French Lieutenant Colonel by the name of Richert, who paid frequent visits to Munich, had instigated the conspirators to continue their activities and supplied them abundantly with money. Through this conspiracy the French had hoped to separate from the main body of Germany not only Bavaria but also the whole of South Germany and the Valley of the Ruhr.

The occupied territories have been treated most rigorously. Many thousand families have been expelled at a moment's notice from their homes. They have not



Keystone

The residence of the ex-Crown Prince of Germany on the Island of Wieringen, Holland

been allowed to take along any of their household goods. Those who have been arrested have been tortured. The French courts-martial have imposed wholesale penalties upon Germans, and even capital punishment has not been excluded. The situation which has prevailed, and still prevails, in the Ruhr could hardly be excused even in a time of war. It may be taken for granted that had the Germans been driven by despair to take up arms, the French would have been agreeably surprised, for they would have had an excellent opportunity to destroy Germany.

GERMANY CANNOT BE DESTROYED

It is from this side that the stability of the Republic is endangered. The French support the monarchistic movement in Bavaria, and the German people begin to wonder what they can expect from a Government that cannot defend them from such dangers. When a nation is driven to a state of despair, desperate resolves may be anticipated. Despite the miserable conditions prevailing in their country today, however, the German people do not despair of the future, for they know that a nation like Germany cannot be destroyed.

A communication of Prince Bismarck, addressed to the German Ambassador in St. Petersburg and dated Feb. 25, 1887, was recently made public in the course of the publication of official documents, undertaken by the German Foreign Office (*Die grosse Politik der Europaeischen Kabinette 1871-1914*, Vol. 6, p. 1253), in which the Chancellor writes: "If we were attacked by the French and were victorious, we should never think of the possibility that a nation composed of 40,000,000 Europeans possessing the talents and the self-consciousness of the French could be destroyed." * * * Russia, Austria and Prussia could not do it with Poland, a much smaller country, in a hundred years.

"We, therefore, would never undertake the hopeless task to destroy France as a power. But if France remains strong in defeat, or after a short period of recuperation regains her strength, so that we have to take her proximity into account, it will be advisable for us to show her indulgence if we are victorious in the next war, as we

showed Austria indulgence in 1866. If I have spoken otherwise before the Reichstag, it was because I wished to intimidate our prospective enemies and deter them from making war."

People in Germany share the opinion of Bismarck that a great nation cannot be destroyed, and they are confident that the French policy will ultimately be defeated because of the impossibility of its fulfillment. The question whether mere passive resistance, so heroically carried through by the inhabitants of the Ruhr Valley, would be sufficient to overcome the policy of violence followed by the French would seem to have been temporarily settled by the recent abandonment of that policy by the Stresemann Government. The subsequent disorders and bloodshed open possibilities. Whether German relation to French policy will eventually provoke a new war no one can say at present. It is true that Germany has no arms, but what Lady Bonham-Carter, a daughter of Mr. Asquith, said at a public meeting held after her return from an inspection of the conditions in the Ruhr Valley is equally true, viz., that the French have put war into the heart of every German, and that the world cannot look on such a struggle without sympathy.

The German Republic, however, is in no position to carry on the struggle with France further at this time. The view that the German people, if driven to it, would submit to a dictatorship has scarcely been demonstrated as yet by the appointment of Dr. Gessler as supreme military leader. What will be the outcome of the present situation nobody knows. Perhaps some kind of Bolshevism. The ultimate reply to the question concerning the stability of the German Republic, however, is bound to be one of international significance. Had passive resistance been victorious in the Ruhr, the republic and international pacifism would have won a decisive victory. Though Germany has been compelled to submit to the conditions of France, she will have to revolt against them sooner or later, and this may mean the end of the republic. The future of the German nation and of the German Republic is "on the lap of the gods."

THE BAVARIAN MENACE TO GERMAN UNITY

By PAUL GIERASCH

The author of the following article is a German publicist who has made a special study of the German-Bavarian situation as it has developed since the establishment of the German Republic. In this study he has had the collaboration of prominent Munich intellectuals, whose names, for obvious reasons, cannot be revealed

Inside story of Bavaria's alienation from the Berlin Government—Fascista Party under Adolf Hitler fostered alike by patriots and reactionaries—Munich forced to proclaim military dictatorship to suppress attempted coup—Dr. von Kahr, the dictator, a monarchist reactionary—Bavarian situation a menace to republic

GRAVE events have recently occurred in Germany, events that are of evil omen for the safety of the young German Republic. The abandonment of passive resistance in the Ruhr by the Stresemann Government was followed by disorder at various points, and the situation became so serious that the Government prepared to declare martial law to ward off all eventualities. This action was precipitated toward the end of September by the threatening situation that arose in Munich, capital of Bavaria, where Adolf Hitler, leader of the German National Socialist Party—a German imitation of the Italian Fascista Party, yet marked by definite characteristics of its own—called on his shock troops, numbering thousands of well-armed and well-equipped men, to mobilize for a military review, accompanying his summons by inflammatory posters denouncing the Berlin Government for its "betrayal" of Germany in 1918 and for its recent abandonment of passive resistance in the Ruhr, and hinting in unmistakable terms at the imminence of a gigantic "putsch."

The Bavarian Government, alarmed at this threat by a Frankenstein monster whose growth it had mistakenly fostered with the thought that it might be used to advantage in Bavaria's national interests, appointed a military dictator to take control of the situation, suppressed the projected review and suspended the Constitution. The man chosen as dictator was no other than Dr. Gustav von Kahr, for-

mer Bavarian Premier, a man notorious for his monarchistic sympathies and a close personal friend of Prince Rupprecht, pretender to the Bavarian throne. One of Dr. von Kahr's first acts was to declare the German Defense act null and void in Bavaria.

The Berlin Government lost no time in answering this threat from Bavaria by declaring martial law throughout all Germany and appointing Dr. Otto Gessler as the supreme military dictator for all Germany. Ultimately a working agreement was reached between the Bavarian Premier and the Government of the Reich, the latter receiving assurance that the Munich authorities, acting through von Kahr, would prevent any uprising. By the adoption of drastic emergency measures the Hitler coup was definitely suppressed. The Cabinet of von Stresemann fell shortly afterward for reasons that do not concern this narrative. But the menace of monarchist and reactionary Bavaria to the German Republic still remains. The inside story of what has been occurring in Bavaria for the past year is one of greatest interest to all students of history and of Germany especially. To tell that story and to interpret its implications is the object of the present article.

"Germany, awake!" reads the legend inscribed on the black banners of the "gray shirts," the Hitler bands, National Socialists, they call themselves, as they parade in Munich, Bavaria's capital. These flags bear, too, blood-red on a white ground, the

present German fighting symbol of intense nationalism, the Hakenkreuz, a swastika cross. And yet, these "shock troops" are armed for war on other Germans. And while mouthing patriotism, with fierce condemnation of all who do not belong to their own anti-Semitic, anti-socialistic, Wotan-worshipping elect, they are themselves creditably charged with receiving pay from French agents working for German disunion! In face of the Ruhr invasion their leader, who proclaims himself the apostle of Germany's coming salvation, declares to his applauding followers that the enemy is not on the Rhine, but in Berlin. The fight should be not against the French but against the traitors of November, 1918, to wit, those who interfered with the God-given principle of order by the establishment of a republic.

BAVARIA THE HOTBED OF REACTION

In Bavaria the explosive forces that hold the greatest danger for the German Republic are most flagrantly on display. Here the contrasts are most glaring. Bavaria now boasts the title of the "Ordnungszelle," or "Seat of Order," with the connotation of Holy of Holies in the ceremonial worship of monarchism and militarism; or in other words, it is the high place of reaction. Yet the Bavarians formerly had the reputation of being among the most liberal and freedom-loving of Germans. Here prerogatives of rank were least held in respect. Here there was no sabre-rattling. Here, for a brief moment, alone in all Germany, a Soviet republic made a start on life. The country of the Communist uprising now becomes that of the monarchist resurrection, and the champions of German nationalism openly flaunt their hostility to the nation that is. How are contradictions like these to be explained?

Two main streams of influence have determined the course of Bavarian policy since the revolution. One of these is a genuine Bavarian product, springing out of the traditions and feelings of the Bavarian people and the history of the Bavarian State. The other comes from outside Bavaria, is not genuinely at home there, but has mingled with the first, and superficially, favored by circumstances, may give

the impression of being identical with it. In the first place Bavaria is discontented as a member of the family of free States that make up the Republic. Under the new democratic-socialistic-Federal Constitution she was deprived of much of her cherished local sovereignty. Centralization, for Bavarian sensitiveness, went too far. The loss of an army of her own, deprivation of much of her special jurisdiction over railroads, Post Offices, telegraphs and finances caused widespread disgruntlement. The Bismarckian Constitution had given much scope to local independence. It had recognized the important part played by Bavaria as the second largest State of Germany. King Ludwig II. had brought Bavaria into the empire at the price of concessions by a Bismarck set upon achieving German unity at all costs. Justice, Bavarians felt, had been done to their long and brilliant history as a nation among the German peoples.

When, in the great overturn after the war débâcle, the Constitution of the Republic was adopted at Weimar, the revolutionary forces, and this means the workingmen's parties, were having their little day of power. Bavaria was compelled to yield to influences inspired by Socialistic doctrines. Resentment has smoldered steadily ever since against those held responsible for what is regarded as a humiliation. "Back to federalism" became a Bavarian war cry. The Bavarians are bitterly hostile to those held responsible for bringing in the new order of things at Berlin, primarily the Socialists. The best elements, however, are for a large measure of Bavarian autonomy within the Federal framework.

The inborn distaste of the Bavarian for "Prussianism" gives vitality to this opposition. Race pride in him, the consciousness of the "Stamm" (racial branch) is strongly developed. He is extremely fond of his special cultural development, of his peasant costume, of his "Urwüchsigkeit" (ancient lineage). Fear and jealousy of Prussia and Berlin, whose dominance lacks the capacity to inspire respect, are the natural complements of this pride in what is original and individual in Bavaria. Antipathy to Prussian overbearingness, stiffness, precisionism, is reinforced by a mis-



ADOLF HITLER

The most conspicuous of the Bavarian reactionary leaders

giving that loss of a native Bavarian dynasty may bring with it, under a State system centred at Berlin, the loss of a fostering care for Munich as Germany's art centre, damaged prestige, and, perhaps, economic disadvantage; furthermore, the unchurched Berlin Government as the dispenser of regulations affecting church and school in Catholic Bavaria is not looked upon as a blessing unalloyed.

Before the revolution the opposition was that of a democratic Bavaria to a conservative, reactionary Prussia; now, however, it is a conservative Bavaria that fights a

democratic - socialistic Prussia. Yet at bottom the conflict springs out of much the same impulses. Bavaria objects to submitting to Prussian hegemony under the new socialistic, levying, systematizing system as much as it objected to the leadership of a Prussian swash-buckling military caste of disciplinarians. In either case there is, to the Bavarian, something unlovely in being taken in tow by Berlin.

The urge toward local independence is not incompatible with a strong feeling of patriotism for Germany. The average unspoiled Bavarian will repel with indignation the suggestion that he is not loyal to the idea of German unity. His own emphasis on blood and race stirs his sympathies for the claims of Germanism against what is not Germanic. This fact must be taken account of by those who dream of a secessionist Bavaria. As a factor making for German unity, however, its effect will depend on the weight

thrown into the opposite side of the scale by disintegrating forces that have been steadily gaining in strength.

DANGEROUS SEPARATIST ACTIVITIES

Under the influence of these forces, the Bavarian tendency toward decentralization in national affairs has become dangerous to the republic. The second influence referred to above is here at work. The local patriotic tradition has been utilized for the furthering of separatist and insurrectionary activities by elements serving other than purely Bavarian interests. This has

now gone to the point where it is questionable if the Bavarian statesmen who have encouraged these enterprises have not let them get out of hand. The responsibility lies in the main with the political dictators of the Bavarian People's Party who have permitted it to be hitched to any sort of anti-republican adventure which they thought might bring Bavaria local advantage. The Bavarian People's Party, the party of the Catholics, formerly the Bavarian wing of the Centre, or Clerical, Party of Germany, is by far the most powerful party in Bavaria. With the support of one of the weaker parties it makes up the majority in the Diet and constitutes the governing coalition. The strongest party in the opposition, but much weaker than the People's Party, is that of the Socialists.

Made up of the middle and lower classes, including the peasants, the People's Party is by nature democratic. However, as the embodiment of Bavarian sectionalism, living up to the motto, "Anything is good that helps to down Berlin," it has sought aid from the Right and has involved itself more and more deeply in anti-democratic and reactionary policy. It formerly had as its partner in the Government coalition the small Democratic Party. In the Summer of 1922, however, when the People's Party persisted in carrying opposition to the Federal "Laws for the Defense of the Republic" almost to the point of a break with the German Government, the Democrats left the coalition. The People's Party, in order to obtain the necessary majority, was then compelled to admit as its partner in the coalition the so-called Middle Party, the party of the extreme nationalists and pan-Germans. This gave it the support it wanted to carry it to victory over Berlin, with sufficient strength to compel modification of the Defense laws in the direction of decentralization.

PEOPLE'S PARTY FAVORS MONARCHISTS

The leading party in Bavaria has thus put itself into the hands of the representatives of extreme reaction, who have had its continuous encouragement. Seeing in the Social Democrats and other political groups of the Left, as promulgators of the new form of the State, the main support

of a highly centralized Germany, the party has made comrades-in-arms of all those that write into their programs the plank of war against Socialism. It has joined hands with military men and political adventurers, monarchists, all those dissatisfied with the new conditions, who flocked to Bavaria from every corner of Germany when the opportunity beckoned to square accounts with the hateful régime of Republicans and Socialists. This time came when, in May, 1919, the Bavarian Moderate Socialist Ministry of Hoffmann turned over to the bourgeois soldiery, led by the old officer clique, the job of "cleaning up" Sovietism, then established under the soldiers' and workers' councils in Munich. Hoffmann called not only on the volunteer troops, the Home Defense Guards (Einwohnerwehr), the Students' Free Corps and so forth, then organizing in Bavaria itself, but in addition invited in the redoubtable Noske Guards from neighboring Prussia, already bearing bloody credentials as exterminators of the proletarian Spartacist "mob" in Berlin. These Noske Guards ferociously crushed out the symptoms of anything that smacked of opposition to law and order of the accepted variety. It equaled in brutality the records of the troops of Wallenstein in the good old days of the Thirty Years' War.

Vigorous propaganda against Bolshevism accompanied the stamping out of Communist rule. A powerful revulsion against anything even merely tinged with liberalism was the consequence. The very Socialists who had called in the soldiery and let loose the White Terror, a few months later, after the Kapp Putsch, one day found themselves confronted in the Landtag by a group of officers with drawn revolvers. With the words, "We will stand for no more Socialist Ministers," the Ministers were ignominiously expelled from office. Dr. von Kahr, a Bavarian official of strong nationalistic and monarchistic tendencies [military dictator of Bavaria at the time when this magazine went to press], was made Chancellor with the approval of the Bavarian People's Party. The sun had risen for reaction in Bavaria. Munich became the citadel from which Ludendorff and his hangers-on and worshippers could operate secretly or openly, in

furtherance of their plans for the reconquest of Germany.

MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS FOSTERED

The "red" rule in Munich had provided an excuse to nurse various volunteer military organizations in which officers of the old army and others of strong nationalist and monarchist sympathies were the active spirits. Bavaria resisted to the last possible moment disbandment of these troops when the German Government, upon insistence of the Entente, was compelled finally to demand it. There then immediately cropped up in the place of the Home Defense Guards, peasant guards, student corps, and so forth, various new organizations of more or less secret nature—societies of war veterans, groups of patriotic students and the like. These, ostensibly non-military, all worked for reactionary nationalistic aims with military force as the ultima ratio. Among the promoters of societies of this type were: Colonel Epp, Colonel Xylander, Captain Ehrhardt and Forester Escherich, for whom is named the noted "Orgesch" (an abbreviation for "Organisation Escherich"). These same men had been prominent in the formation and

leadership of the abolished volunteer troops. Ludendorff and his aid, Colonel Bauer, remained in the background as prompters and unofficial directors.

All this is common knowledge in Germany, but the Berlin Government has been unwilling, after declaring several of these societies illegal, to bring matters to an issue and actually root them out. In Bavaria thoroughgoing action against them has been prevented by the Bavarian Government, which under the guidance of politicians, inspired by narrow-minded provincialism and obstinate rancor against the Berlin Socialists, has allowed itself to become the tool of reaction. In addition to von Kahr, Dr. Heim, his associate, political dictator of the Bavarian People's Party, and member of the Reichstag, and Dr. Held, the official leader of the Bavarian Party in the Bavarian Diet, have been most active in placing the party organization and the Government machinery at the disposal of the illegal organizations. Bavaria, as a result, has found herself cut off from all co-operation in a common German policy.

Among the large and small groups which aimed at the ultimate destruction of the republican State, and which found a favorable soil in Bavaria, the National Socialists, led by Adolf Hitler, have most distinguished themselves by open terrorism and the flagrant defiance of such show of authority as the Bavarian Government chose to make. They flatter themselves that they are German counterparts of the Italian Fascisti. They are neither Socialists nor in any true sense national. The name "Socialist" is used to serve as bait to the workingmen for a movement that has anti-Marxism for its inspiration, but pretends to discriminate between the Marxian, as *Jewish*, and a *German socialism*.

RISE OF NATIONAL SOCIALISTS

The National Socialistic movement had its beginning some three years ago. Though made up originally of followers of strictly nationalistic parties, it



DR. GUSTAV VON KAHR

A former Premier of Bavaria and one of the reactionary leaders who has become military dictator of Bavaria with the title of General Commissioner of State

soon drew adherents, by skillful appeal to prejudice and ignorance, from among all the bourgeoisie parties and even made converts among Socialists. The Bavarian People's Party furthered the movement as a counterweight to the hated Socialists, although it could not in essentials identify itself with the aims of fanatical extremists who openly preached war against the national Government. Forbidden throughout Germany as declared enemies of the existing State, they have not only been allowed to exist in Bavaria, but have been aided and abetted by the Bavarian Government wherever opportunity offered. As a substitute for the "Einwohnerwehr" they enabled this Government to assure itself of potential armed force superior to any opposition the Socialists might offer. Recently, since the beginning of the Ruhr invasion, the conflict between the aims of these trouble-makers and the Government of any German State that made a pretense of national loyalty has become painfully glaring. This has forced the Bavarian Government and the People's Party to offer a few weak gestures of dissent and to make some pretense of an attempt to dissociate themselves from a movement that openly threatened to break up German unity in the face of the outside enemy.

To the Hitler bands flock youths of the featherbrained, unbalanced types, similar to those involved in the Rathenau assassination; students, flotsam and jetsam of classes that have lost their footing in the new Germany, having been deprived of prerogatives and economic security; clerks, mechanics, even plain hoodlums, such as once could be seen in the following of the Spartacists, purchasable for a few marks, a square meal and the prospect of a free fight with the odds on their side; a mixture of unbalanced visionaries and undisguised ruffians. Many alleged fugitives from the Ruhr, hailing in fact from various parts of Germany, have been received into the fold and entertained by the Hitler organization, after refusing work offered them by the authorities.

Though styling themselves the National Socialistic German Workingmen's Party, the National Socialists are rather a group of people held together by vaguely defined

emotions and passions than a political party. Their leader, Hitler, had worked up these emotions by using the reactions to economic and spiritual distress that pervade the psychology of the German people today. Racial antipathies and religious motives are fused with dreams of a better day to come. Hitler asks that the German nation be cleansed of all non-Aryan elements and that it find renewal in a church of the people in which the belief in the nordic Wotan shall be merged with that in Christ. To the purified nation shall at the appointed time come forth a new German emperor-king who, as the national messiah, shall free Germany from the bondage of her foreign taskmaster.

PERSONALITY OF HITLER

Adolf Hitler is an Austrian, a man of little education, of the smaller middle class. He is a machinist by trade. In the present mixed state of things in Bavaria he is well suited to play the part of the street-demagogue who can make an effective appeal, even in cultured Munich, by steadily hammering in a few of the catchphrases set going by nationalistic propaganda. Yet he is by no means a good speaker. He does not carry you away with him and probably would find few followers were it not for the peculiar conditions under which he makes his appeal. If he is to be believed, not the French, but the Jews are standing at the Rhine. Between the German worker and the German employer there would be no conflicts, if only Jewish international banking capital were destroyed. Germany would then be freed of all ills and would enter upon a state of order and prosperity. First of all, however, accounts must be settled with those traitors, the Jewish Socialist leaders, who have plunged the German people into misery and have persuaded it that the international solidarity of Socialism will save Germany in her time of need.

Hitler's Jew-baiting takes well among a people of a strong race consciousness. His incitement against Socialism serves the ends of those leaders of industry who see a danger in Socialistic doctrine. The Bavarian Government has closed its eyes to the subversive features of his program and has carried its policy of toleration to ex-



DR. OTTO GESSLER

German Defense Minister appointed by President Ebert to act as military dictator of Germany. Dr. Gessler was a member of the Wirth and Cuno Cabinets before joining that formed by Dr. Stresemann

tremes. The illegal formation of the young men of the party into fighting companies of hundreds has been permitted. Outrages against Socialists, attacks on their newspaper plants with hand grenades, the breaking up of their meetings with brass knuckles and blackjacks, beatings and maltreatment of Jews, manifest violations of the law in many directions have gone unpunished.

The Emergency Laws for the Defense of the Republic, passed after the murder of Walther Rathenau, were put on the Federal statute books as a check against monarchistic intrigues and revolutionary attempts from the Right. In Bavaria they are applied against the very party at whose demand they were passed, the Socialists. They are not used against the National Socialists or other reactionary groups. In their subservience to the Right, the governing powers of Bavaria continually employ

the police in their favor. When the Bavarian People's Party was obliged to withdraw Dr. von Kahr as Chancellor because he made a gesture of resistance to the national Government's demand for dissolution of the Home Defense Guards, it merely transferred him to the local Government of Upper Bavaria, the larger and dominant portion of the country, containing the capital, Munich. He was permitted to retain in his grip the actual lever of the administrative machinery, the police. With the aid of the nationalistic and monarchistic officialdom which he has at his command, he has used this police force in the interest of reaction. To all interpellations in the Bavarian Diet regarding transgressions of the law by the National Socialists the Minister of the Interior, Schweyer, a creature of von Kahr's, made the ironic reply that one could not, in accordance with the Constitution in a democratic State, proceed against a party that is legally entitled to equal rights with other parties.

The most conspicuous illustration of Schweyer's methods was given apropos of the flag-dedicating exercises and demonstration of the National Socialists in Munich early in February of this year. Open war was threatened in the city, and in view of the demand for national unity due to the Ruhr invasion, something had to be done to prevent a frankly anti-patriotic explosion. Schweyer declared martial law in Munich. He took pains to ignore the Federal Emergency Defense laws that were intended for exactly such occasions. The police, in fact, notwithstanding the decree, permitted all meetings of the National Socialists to take place. The dedication of their battleflags and the defiant marching of the demonstrators in military formation through the city were not prevented. On the other hand, meetings of the regular Socialists, called for the same day, were not allowed. Dr. von Kahr appeared as the man in the background who actually pulled the strings. As President of Upper Bavaria he furthered a movement that was dangerous to the State, and when as a State official he was charged with the execution of ordinances that have been made necessary to check the movement he did this in a way to provide the Hitler organization with an easy triumph over the Government. As in-

termediary between the Police Commissioner for Munich and Hitler, he virtually secured immunity for the demonstrators on a mere understanding that they should not go too far in their disturbance of the peace. The result of this episode was to exhibit the National Socialists as superior to Bavarian Government control.

SCHEMES OF MONARCHIST PLOTTERS

The schemes of the monarchical and nationalistic plotters, to whose purposes the National Socialists are more or less subservient, go far beyond merely strengthening Bavaria's position within the German State. Their aim has been to put all power in the State into the hands of a dictator. At the time these lines appear this aim has actually been fulfilled, with the appointment of Dr. von Kahr as Military Dictator of Bavaria. This, however, is an emergency measure, and may not meet the ultimate aim of the monarchists. Such a dictatorship as is desired is calculated to do away with all participation of the Bavarian People's Party in the Government, and its realization might seem ominous of the party's own destruction. Ultimately, however, the plan of these reactionary groups calls for the restoration of the old monarchistic and militaristic Germany. In this they hope to make use of an independent, secessionist Bavaria. On the breaking out of some new conflict with the Federal Government, it is planned Bavaria shall put herself under French protection and with Hungary and the Austrian Alpine lands shall form a federation strong enough to maintain itself. This is to be a fortress for the rewinning of Germany to nationalistic and militaristic ideals. Furthermore, it is from here that the war of revenge against the arch-enemy on the Rhine is to be conducted. Odd indeed is the fantasy that France is to be the patron saint for an undertaking that one day is to be turned against herself.

The creation of a State President for Bavaria in place of the present Cabinet Government has long been urged by the Bavarian People's Party and its allies of the Right. The Separatist program is favored by the fact that control of the Bavarian Government gives control of that portion of the German Army that is stationed

in Bavaria. These troops remained permanently on Bavarian soil, are commanded by Bavarians and are recruited exclusively from "trustworthy" natives, the command rejecting all other applicants. To this is added the circumstance that the Bavarian Army authorities have had the friendly co-operation of a Bavarian at the head of the Federal Ministry of War. Last Summer, when the differences between Bavaria and the Federal Government on the Emergency Laws were at their height, the Bavarian army contingent was reported to have taken up positions of defense in the passes of the Thuringian Forest facing Prussia. The prison sentence of Baron Leoprechting, convicted of treasonable dealings with the French Ambassador at Munich in furtherance of Separatist plans, the fact that one of Hitler's organizers has been unable to clear himself of the charge of being in French employ, and the failure of Hitler to deny convincingly the receipt from French sources of a sum valued in January at some thirty or forty million marks, are facts that point clearly to an attempt by the Separatists to carry out their plan in co-operation with the Nationalist Socialists.

HITLER STRONGLY FINANCED

The financing of the Hitler movement has been the cause of no little speculation. It is plain that the railroad trips and the feeding of hundreds of young fellows with healthy appetites, the arming of the "shock troops" and the holding of them in readiness for action, Hitler's automobile, the posters, meetings, parades and the like require sums that patriotism alone in Germany today cannot achieve.

In the support of the Hitler movement other motives than those stimulated by French diplomacy have played a part. Capital, in the form of the Kuhlo group of the "Bavarian Industrial Association," is definitely known to have made considerable contributions. The forces behind Hitler have, in fact, given indications that they possess great financial strength, and they have secured such a grip on the Bavarian governmental and official machinery that there is no little danger that the National Socialist movement will free itself entirely from the control of the Bavarian People's Party and that this party will itself lose all power of self-direction.

Many shameful happenings in Bavarian public life have their origin in the chaos of inner contradictions that spring from this combination of irresponsible and adventurous elements with the leading political party, animated by federative aims. This party has now allowed the accumulation of such an amount of hatred and rancor that its leader must show the utmost energy and skill to avoid an explosion that will bring to both Bavaria and Germany disastrous consequences. Such an explosion was barely avoided by the Bavarian Government's recent action. If only to retain control of Bavarian affairs, the Bavarian People's Party will have to put an end to the Hitler terrorism that makes a mockery of the authority of the Government. A factor of safety is that the peasants, who exercise a strong influence in the Bavarian People's Party, still look with almost the same suspicion upon city adventurers and reactionary Prussians as upon Communistic revolutionaries, and their monarchism is not so big a thing as those who would put it to use sometimes depict it. Artificial and temporary stimulation by propaganda accounts for much of it.

Guided exclusively by the interests of party and clique, the strongest political group in Bavaria has thus undermined the ground under its feet, has put in question the authority of the Bavarian Government and has endangered the equilibrium of the German State. That such a development was possible, however, is to be ascribed chiefly to this: That the Entente Governments since the conclusion of peace have given the cause of democracy in Germany no opportunity to succeed. By this attitude they have not only brought the workingmen's parties, the democratic parties, and their own Governments into discredit, but they have made them hated to such a degree that the releasing of all the forces of the German monarchistic reaction for disruption and overturn must be regarded as the work of these hostile Governments alone.

It is now clear that the Bavarian Government has at last awakened to the dan-

ger of the Hitler movement, but it is equally clear that with the appointment of von Kahr the monarchist tide will undergo no abatement. On Sept. 30 Crown Prince Rupprecht was acclaimed in Munich by enthusiastic throngs as "King" on the occasion of a reunion and grand celebration by 20,000 veterans of the "Leibregiment," which acted before and during the war as bodyguard to the Bavarian King. On the same day Dr. von Kahr made his first public appearance since his rise to power at a mass parade of police in the Hofgarten; he was accompanied by Prince Rupprecht.

BAVARIAN MENACE REMAINS

By an amicable understanding between the Berlin and Munich authorities Hitler's aim at a reactionary coup has been at least temporarily balked, but he has been allowed to continue publication of his paper, the *Voelkische Beobachter* (People's Observer), despite two successive demands transmitted by Dr. Gessler, as Military Dictator of the Reich, through General von Lossow, his representative in Munich, that this subversive organ be suppressed.

The immediate danger of an explosion is thus eliminated, but Hitler remains defiant. Though his bands of shock troops were sent home, Hitler announced that further meetings of his party would be held and that his cause would march on in Bavaria. He violently denounced the termination of passive resistance and declared in a public interview on Oct. 3, just one day before the fall of the Stresemann Cabinet, that "it is not a question of republic or monarchy, but of delivering Germany from the men who betrayed her."

All thoughtful Germans familiar with the situation in Bavaria look on the part now being played by von Kahr, the intimate friend of Prince Rupprecht and other prominent reactionaries, with just suspicion. Whether or not Bavaria will actually reach the point of secession, and whether the Bavarian monarchists will make a supreme effort to build up a new kingdom in this State, no one can say at present. It is clear, however, that big events are brewing in the Bavarian witches' cauldron.



French Colonial Information Bureau

A landscape in the Province of Miliana, Algeria

FRANCE'S AFRICAN EMPIRE

By HENRI MARTIN BARZUN

Formerly editor of *L'Homme Libre*, Paris; member of the French Press Commission to the United States, 1918; author of "The Foundations of Europe," "The Earthly Tragedy," "The Era of Drama," "The World Order," and research work on orchestral poetry; Lecturer on French Civilization at Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa.

A colonial domain seventeen times larger than France—Possessions acquired in the last century that replaced territories lost in North America and India—Influence of French colonial policy upon European situation

IN less than a century France has colonial empire, world wide in extent thrown open to civilization a new and full of greater promise for the future. Before 1830 these territories were not only inaccessible, but dangerous to the white man who would penetrate them. Today an army of 200,000 soldiers recruited in France and the colonies themselves are distributed all the way from Central Africa to the Near East, the Far East and the islands of the Pacific not only to maintain order and prevent any return to racial and religious strife or barbarous practices among the natives, but also to organize this vast domain for trade, industry and progress toward civilization.

The empire that has been built up in ninety years by French vision, energy and

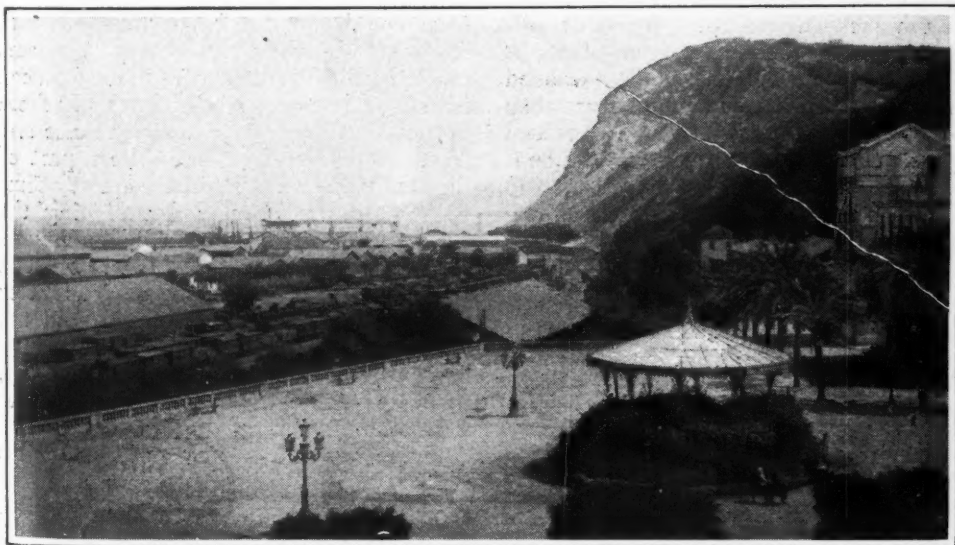
courage, is as large as the United States, Alaska, and the inhabited portion of Canada put together, and is populated by about 65,000,000 natives of all races and creeds that can be found in Africa, Asia and the Pacific. If such extensive possessions burden France with great responsibilities, they also give her correspondingly great power on the political, economic and military chessboard, not only of Europe, but of the world as well. For that reason France takes her place in the leadership of the five greatest nations with the United States, the British Empire, Japan and Russia. France as a colonial power has one important advantage in that almost at her very doors, within 35 hours of Paris, lie three-quarters of her empire with a native population of 40,000,000.

In the colonial expansion which followed the discovery of America, France contributed her share, and the history of her efforts may be summed up in three periods. The first period reached its climax in 1750, when France was the most powerful colonizing country in Europe, extending her possessions in North America over what was then known as "New France," that is, Canada and Louisiana, from Hudson Bay to New Orleans, through the Mississippi Valley and over the Indian empire in its entirety. The second period covered about half a century from 1750 to 1815, when the decline of the French monarchy in an endless succession of wars, followed by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire, dismantled the whole colonial dominion of France and let it fall into the hands of Great Britain. The third period began about 1815, continuing through monarchy and republic, up to 1920, during which time a new colonial empire to replace the lost one was built up and is now in full development.

Instead of North America and India, Africa is now the most important field of French colonial development. Here the French possessions have an area of 4,800,000 square miles, that is, seventeen times the size of France itself, and a colored

population equal to the number of France's white inhabitants. The French colonies in Africa, which exceed those of Great Britain by about one-fifth, suggest a kind of confederation, slowly built up by the gradual acquisition of twenty provinces from 1830 up to the Versailles Treaty. A beginning was made with the annexation in 1830 of Northern Algeria, to which were added the colonies of Gabon, Congo, Ubangi, and Chad in 1841; Guinea and Ivory Coast in 1843; Somaliland in 1864; Tunis in 1881; Senegal in 1889; Sudan, Volta, Dahomey, and Mauritania in 1893; Madagascar and Reunion in 1896; Southern Algeria in 1902; Niger and Morocco in 1912, and the German Cameroons in 1919.

It is easy to imagine the vast economic power that such undeveloped territories promise for the future, for in the African colonies there is every variety of natural resources. Thus, in Morocco we find copper, manganese and iron deposits, salt and phosphates, cereals and oils. Going southward into the Western provinces we have fisheries, gold mines and stone quarries. Cereals and potatoes are grown; rubber and wax are abundant. The equatorial regions produce lumber in large quantities, in addition to raising mules, sheep and camels. Madagascar supplies sugar,



French Colonial Information Bureau

Philippeville, a city on the coast of Algeria



P. and A.

SIDI MOHAMED

The Bey of Tunis, which is a protectorate under the rule of France and is administered by the French Resident General. The Bey's family has given Tunis all occupants of the throne since 1705

beans, cereals, fruits of all kinds, manioc, gums, waxes and resins. Vegetable oils are distilled by the natives from plants as yet unknown to botanists. The wooded plateaus of the interior contain more than fifteen varieties of precious woods, valued for their density, color and scent. Mineral riches are not lacking, gold, silver and precious stones being mined. Corundum and graphite as well as the rarer radioactive substances have been discovered. Somaliland is one of the few districts supplying ivory. From Northern Africa palm and olive oils, oranges, figs, dates and peanuts are obtained. Seven petroleum concessions have been granted and wells are in operation. Marble, cork, antimony, zinc, lead and mercury constitute other sources of wealth, exceeded in value only by cereals, tobacco, raffia and wheat. The 1923 wheat crop in French Africa has doubled the previous year's production,

and is the largest on record since the war. Added to the wheat harvested in the mother country, the African crop exactly meets present needs and makes France self-supporting and independent of American or foreign wheat.

The value of the African empire is seen in its trade both with France and with the world at large. Production is already nearing 3,000,000 tons yearly for the whole dominion, mostly raw materials for manufacturers and foodstuffs for export. As for the commercial balance, the day is expected when the 700,000,000 francs of pre-war trade will reach five billions. There could be no better prospect for French prosperity at home and for French exchange in foreign countries. Especially in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, agriculture is being developed on a large scale. The farms and cultivated fields cover immense areas, comparable only to the American Middle West. This necessitates the use of modern agricultural implements such as harvesters, reapers, binders, thrashers and tractors, creating a market for American manufacturers of these machines.

How are the twenty provinces of the French African empire connected among themselves, and how do they, together with Continental France, form a unit in close touch with the political, industrial and commercial worlds? From Marseilles to Algiers, up-to-date passenger steamers cross the Mediterranean in about eighteen hours, while many freight lines ply from port to port between Southern France and North Africa, making the western part of the Mediterranean a French waterway comparable to the Great Lakes linking the United States and Canada. The importance of rapid transportation between Paris and Africa became obvious after the war, when aviation first entered the commercial field. Since then a main line has been in operation between Toulouse, in the South of France, and Casablanca, the economic capital of Morocco, on the Atlantic coast. The distance of 1,150 miles is covered daily in thirteen hours. From Casablanca to Oran, Algeria, the 500 miles are covered in six hours. This daily service carries passengers and freight, as well as air mail at the rate of 250,000 letters

a month. Another route is that from Casablanca toward Dakar.

The Paris-Toulouse-Casablanca air route, passing over the Pyrenees Mountains, the Spanish Sierras, the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, is considered among the most picturesque and the safest. The crossing of the Sahara Desert by airplane will remain a remarkable feat, which, although fraught with danger, may give a start to a regular commercial enterprise. However, only military aviation is now permitted as an emergency link between the coast cities and the inland territories. Of the 175 high-powered wireless stations of the world, Africa has twenty-four, seven of which are within the limits of French territory. Through these seven stations the twenty provinces are in permanent communication with France.

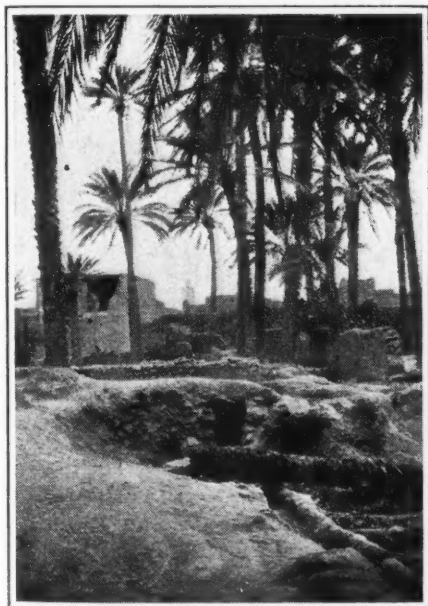
Besides the 400 newspapers which are published between the Cape and Cairo and between Dakar and Djibuti in French, Italian, English, Portuguese, Spanish, Turkish, Greek and numerous native dialects, the French colonies have about 170 dailies, reviews and periodicals to voice the needs, hopes and plans of the provinces, with the assistance of forty colonial

newspapers and magazines issued in Paris for the same purpose.

A network of good roads has been built along the coast between the main cities and is being systematically enlarged and extended. On these commercial and tourist roads the camel of old has been replaced by automobiles and motor trucks, as well as by powerful road limousines maintaining regular passenger service.

Last year an attempt to cross sandy and barren territories in special cars mounted on "caterpillar" chains was so successful as to prove the possibilities of this auxiliary means of transportation. Finally, a huge program of public works has been planned for the coming years in the different provinces, providing for the extension of railroads and telegraphs, the improvement of harbors and waterways and the installation of modern equipment for trade, industry and agriculture. Provision, too, has been made for the improvement of sanitary, welfare and educational facilities.

Just as the building of the great American Middle West has been a source of romance for the last generations, so French Africa has created not only a literature of its own, but also a literary school, in a land of wonders where the past is just awakening. The conquest of Algeria reminds us that its barbarous shores once harbored the pirates which held in check the fleets of Spain and France for centuries before being defeated by the American Commodore Decatur, who compelled them to salute the flag of the young Union on June 20, 1815. The Tunisian territory is called the Garden of Africa, for it offers to Europeans its mild Winter climate at thirty hours' run from Marseilles by boat or seven hours by airplane. It is a veritable tropical park, crowded with the ruins of both the Carthaginian and Roman Empires, which fought there for control of this tremendous granary from which they derived their power. In fact, fifteen miles north of the City of Tunis lie the ruins, 2,000 years old, of Carthage, the beautiful, which gave to the world Queen Dido, Scipio Africanus, Hannibal, Salambo, Saint Augustine and Tertullian. At the present time an American archaeological expedition is working on this site where the scientists have discovered, thanks



French Colonial Information Bureau

A scene at Figulg, in French Morocco

to aerial photographs, the foundations of the submerged break-water which guarded the harbor of the Punic city against the Roman fleet. The amphitheatre in which were staged the plays of that ancient time has been restored and now resounds periodically with the Greek tragedies performed by the Comédie Française with the official support of the French Government.

If we next journey to Morocco, after a trip to Algiers, with its Arabian nights and Parisian life, we discover the Atlas Range of mountains, towering above the sands 12,000 and 15,000 feet. There Rome built an outpost over twenty centuries ago, the City of Volubilis, the ruins of which evoke the past of this busy trading centre. Lastly, the legend of Atlantis finds there its origin, as the lost continent stretched out from this point into the ocean that bears its name.

One can easily understand why French Africa has inspired scores of writers, painters, poets, musicians and archaeologists in quest of the civilization of other days. Just as India stirred the imagination of Kipling, the romance of Africa has been a well of inspiration to Hugo, Delacroix, Pierre Loti, Saint-Saëns, Tharaud, Leblond and Mardrus, creating an art and literature now in full blossom. The mystery and beauty of the Sahara Desert, with its oases, have produced countless novels. But in the mind of the British Prime Minister who, in 1902, signed with France the last document giving her full possession of Southern Algeria, that territory consisted merely of "sands where the Gallic Cock could scratch at ease." Now, a huge project, backed by the French Academy of Sciences, contemplates the reclamation of the Sahara Desert, since it is asserted by the scientists in charge that abundant waters are to be found at a great depth below the sands. This plan, which will involve years of work and billions of dollars, will eventually place under cultivation a territory as large as the Louisiana



French Colonial Information Bureau

Natives of Togoland, the former German colony, which was divided between France and Great Britain after the war

Purchase, fertile as the Mississippi Valley, in the very heart of French Africa.

In the Spring of 1922, two years after his election as the head of the Republic, President Millerand started on a long tour, extending from the sea to the desert, throughout Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. It was a tribute officially paid by the mother country to the African colonies which had so greatly helped her during the war, both with their economic wealth and with the million colored troops and factory workers who participated in the struggle. When the French naval squadron carrying the President of the republic crossed the Mediterranean, a fleet of vessels representing Great Britain, the United States, Spain, Holland and Turkey lined up on both sides as a symbol of African peace. And peace not only between the Mediterranean Powers but also between the Mohammedan and teeming black populations upon whom they have set their rule.

The French policy which controls from Paris the life of forty million natives may vary in its aspects according to the past and the importance of each province, but its basis cannot be changed, for it is religious and racial before being political and economic. The North Africa provinces, belonging to Mohammedanism, are

subject to all the fluctuations provoked by European politics in Asia Minor and compel France to be on good terms with Islam. This explains why the French mandate over Syria, the agreement with Turkey and the attitude of the French Foreign Office toward Great Britain's administration in Egypt are three aspects of the same policy of necessary adjustment for the sake of peace with Islam, without which the African Empire would be doomed. It is in order to contribute to this peace in the Near East that France keeps a body of 30,000 soldiers in Syrian territory. As the French High Commissioner (formerly General Gouraud) said, "to enforce successfully the mandate over Syria will mean peace not only in this vital spot and in the East, but in the whole of French North Africa."

Without discriminating between the varied laws, rights and privileges which apply to all French subjects, France considers it necessary to rely upon her African dominion as upon herself for the maintenance of peace as well as for the emergencies of war. France, with her forty million inhabitants and her decreasing birth rate, cannot think of checking a possible invasion from Germany with a population of about sixty millions and a yearly increasing birth rate. The population of the French Colonial Empire being equal to that of Germany, France therefore can correct the balance. In the same spirit

the Governor General of Morocco, Marshal Lyautey, has been steadily advocating a permanent entente between the "Caliphate of the West" and the "Caliphate of the East," identifying itself with Turkey. Thus the policy of France in her African world passes through the Islamic centre of Mohammedanism in the Near East. The fact that French Africa is a powerful melting pot in which Jews, Turks, Negroes, Kabyls, Arabs and Berbers are the dominating elements, imposes upon France the difficult task of racial and religious pacification, while considering at the same time the European elements, mainly Spanish and Italian, which dwell side by side with the French colonists.

If France becomes able to draw from a white and colored population of 100,000,000 a permanent army for her self-defense, her military situation will be obviously strengthened. Already the Military Committee of the Chamber of Deputies has been considering a report which suggests recruiting an army of 850,000 colonials, about half of whom could be fully trained to military service. This total is not visionary, as it corresponds to the number of native troops that France recruited during the war as fighting men and laborers. In a case of emergency, France would be able to resist any attack, even if she had no ally to assist her in the struggle. From this point of view the presence of black troops in the Ruhr cannot be construed as

a mere lack of military courtesy toward Germany, but as a demonstration to the French people and to the civilized world that France has a powerful backing in her colonial reservoir of man power.

But how would communication between Continental France and her African Empire be assured without the mastery of the Mediterranean Sea, that is, without an adequate naval policy in relation to the power of Great Britain and Italy, her two rivals



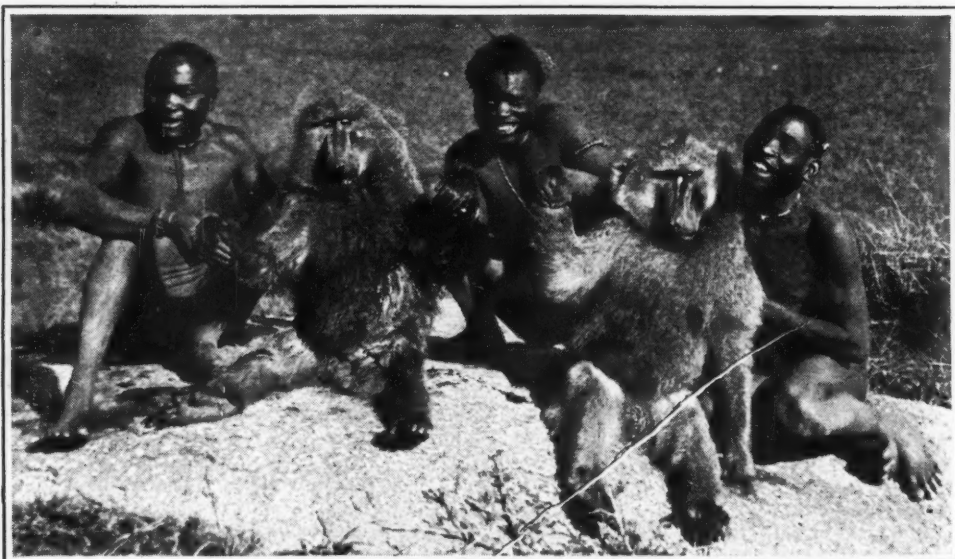
French Colonial Information Bureau

Outside the town of Bou-Saada, situated in a fertile region in the midst of an arid plain among the Atlas Mountains, Algeria

in African colonization? Hence the French attitude at the Washington Conference, as well as in the diplomatic battle with Great Britain over the occupation of the Ruhr. Great Britain, commanding the three gateways of the Mediterranean—Gibraltar, the Suez Canal and the Dardanelles—France must maintain a powerful navy against any attempt at permanent control. While she has limited her capital ships to 175,000 tons, she absolutely refuses to accept any limitations as to submarines and naval airplanes, which are more effective than capital ships in a narrow inland sea like the Mediterranean.

The task of civilization and pacification assumed by France in her great colored South has not been made easy of late, either by the European events or by many foreign prejudices and much internal criticism. The black question has become more acute on account of certain incidents in Paris involving colored Frenchmen and white American citizens. Without entering into the controversy, it is obvious to any observer that France cannot permit foreigners to draw a color line against her subjects, since it is for France a vital problem of economic power, self-defense and national dignity. As for the indictment preferred by friends of the

black people against French administration, there are undoubtedly many grounds for supporting and justifying it. But it only would be necessary to show that the same conditions of economic exploitation exist in all white countries the world over, and possibly with more acuteness and less excuse than in the French African Commonwealth. The unrest which is sweeping the old world as well as the new brings the same amount of misery, privations, local famines, racial and religious strife as a consequence of the World War, and in all lands reconstruction measures have for the most part so far failed. Discussions of the peace treaty and of the right to self-determination have also had their effect not only in Russia, Japan, India, Ireland, Egypt and Central Europe but also in French Africa. It is not surprising then that the ideas of a Pan-Negro republic, of a communistic Pan-Islamism, of an African proletariat, and a sporadic movement of industrial revolt are manifested also in the territories under the French flag after having swept throughout to Near and Far East, Europe and even the Americas. French civilization in Africa must face the same trials as any other civilization in these days.



Publishers Photo Service

Natives of Somaliland with monkeys. French Somaliland is a colony with an area of 5,790 square miles, of which Djibuti is the capital and chief port

SOCIALISM IN SPAIN

By PRIMITIVO R. SANJURJO

A graduate of the University of Madrid; Assistant Professor of Spanish, Middlebury College

How Socialism, built up in Spain by Pablo Iglesias, has become stamped with the features of Spanish individuality—The first desperate struggles of labor, thus instructed, to improve its condition

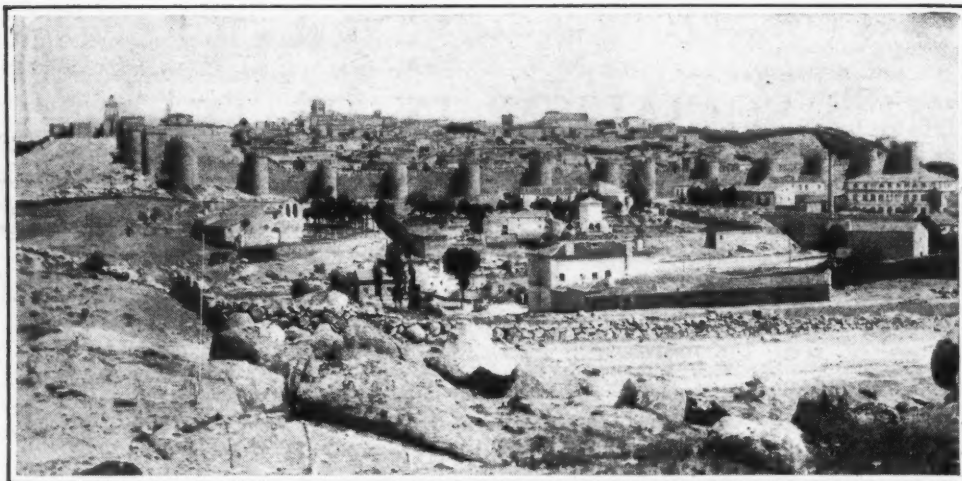
ONE of the causes of the reactionary movement which found expression in the military revolution in Spain a few weeks ago was the growing opposition to Socialistic and Syndicalistic ideas among the workers. For that reason it is of more than passing interest to give some account of the rise and growth of the proletarian movement. The writer saw the birth of socialism in Spain—saw it first as a mere academic theory, and then propagated and organized by those who did not belong to the intellectual class. The man responsible for its organization was a workman of the printers' guild, Pablo Iglesias.

There had been a curious phenomenon which antedated socialism in Spain. Before there were any Socialists in the country, before there was even a hint of organization, on the occasion of a strike in a certain German city, the working men of La Coruña sent financial aid. La Coruña is a Spanish city which has always had among its industrial class affiliated anarchists. Thus one sees in the very beginnings of Spanish socialism a revolutionary spirit, which has persisted to the present time.

Pablo Iglesias, organizer of socialism in Spain, incarnation of mental force and indefatigable activity, covered the peninsula inch by inch, going from one city to another. With his words he planted and molded in the minds of the workmen the Marxian belief; filled their hearts with faith and a communist ideal; tore from them their ancient Catholic and even Christian beliefs; exhorted them to unite,

for in such union would be their future strength; sought to prove to them the Proudhon idea that property ownership was robbery; and incited them to demolish the social system of property, based on injustice and on the privileges of Roman law and history. The writer often heard the Socialist leader speak at the outset of his party task, and can affirm that the clearness of his thoughts was such that it not only penetrated the minds of the unlettered but likewise those of the university trained.

Every discourse of this pontiff of socialism called forth an inward struggle. His crude phrases were repugnant to the heart, if not to the brain. The majority of the wives of the workmen rebelled against such ideas. The clergy and the bishops began to make active opposition. The storm passed, and there was calm again in the industrial mind. The economic and political life of Spain in the last two decades of the nineteenth century was as quiet as a dead sea. The workman toiled from daylight to dark and for a paltry wage, but his needs were few, and by dint of honesty and industry he might become a foreman, a "boss," a man of means. This situation was one of the causes which operated against the ideas of Pablo Iglesias. But he did not rest. Fearlessly faithful to his ideal, he founded his paper, the Socialist, in Madrid, and made the reading of it obligatory among labor elements that had been organized. When these unlettered men read telegrams from Paris, Berlin, London, and the United States—telegrams sometimes genuine, sometimes false—con-



Ewing Galloway

Picturesque Spain: the town and walls of Avila

cerning the many strikes, their hearts imbibed the hope and their minds the conviction that they, too, might obtain great wages, control those who now controlled them, and that the houses which they were building should be exclusively theirs. This faith increased by degrees and found active expression in strikes, a series of which spread over the entire peninsula. One day it was the masons, another the carpenters, another the tailors, and so forth. When

one guild called a strike in a city, the press reproduced all the incidents, and immediately all similar guilds of the peninsula presented the same problem to their employers.

The first strikes were frightful. Thousands of workmen lost their cause after days, and sometimes months, of futile effort. Exhausted by hunger, they had to surrender, and many times only to receive a wage lower than that which they had had.



Keystone

The State coach in which the King of Spain goes to open the Cortes (the Spanish Parliament)

Their employers were often implacable, and with these first failures discouragement filled the workman's mind and cooled his faith. The news of a successful strike in this city or that served to awaken hope once more. And so the last years of the nineteenth century saw many partial strikes (partial as contrasted with the general strikes which occurred later) and in the

main they may be said to have resulted to the advantage of the laborer.

The first of May, universally observed as a Socialist festival, was and is today celebrated in Spain. The *obreros* (workmen) of each city gather at 8 o'clock in the morning, and bearing banners and the insignia of their respective trades, go with their wives and children, accompanied by a band which plays the "Marseillaise" and the Socialist hymn, to celebrate a dinner in the country. At sunset they return peaceably through the streets and disperse before the building of the labor societies. The writer recalls many such moments when the throng of workmen filed through the streets, and the inspiring strains of the "Marseillaise" broke the silence of a Spring evening. The faces of the *obreros* bear an expression of threatening triumph; the hungry-looking women and children lend an impression of sadness. There is peace and order in such manifestations, and nevertheless a revolutionary atmosphere pervades their spirit—an unmistakable threat—and on the part of the passive onlookers at the scene a bourgeois timidity unconfessed, and many smiles of skepticism and compassion.

The Government tolerates these demonstrations as it does the strikes, provided the workmen promise order, for they keep their word. Further, the Government has made protective laws for the workmen, such as the retirement law and pensions for those incapacitated through accidents. This law is called the Labor Accidents law (*ley de accidentes del trabajo*). The contractor must pay when the scaffolding of a building is not sufficiently strong and is the cause of the accident which deprives the unfortunate workman of one of his limbs, or of his life. By one of those strange paradoxes in Spanish politics, these



Wide World

King Alfonso (left) and General Primo Rivera (right), photographed together after the military revolution which led to the appointment of the General as dictator of Spain

first protective laws for workmen were the contribution of the Minister, Don Dato, who was unjustly assassinated a short time ago, apparently by Syndicalists (the fanatical and murderous brand of Socialists).

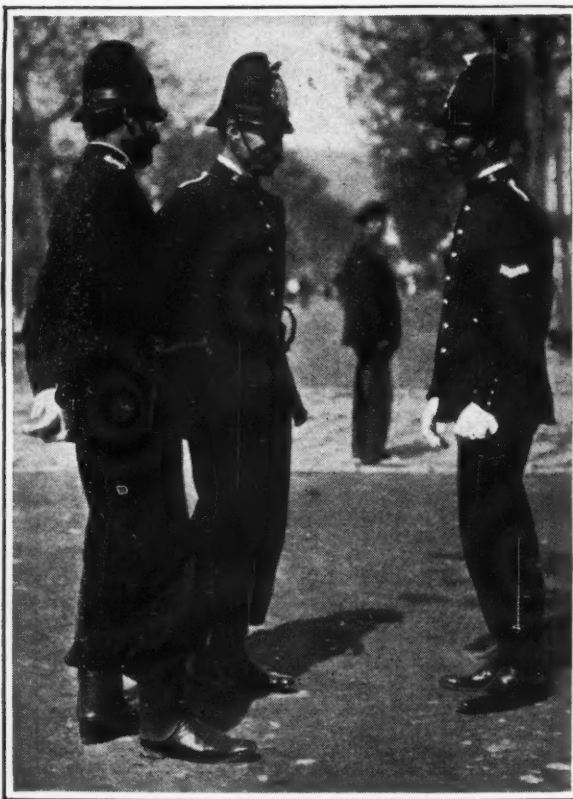
The second epoch in the development of socialism in Spain was more fruitful. In the last years of the nineteenth century it found a formidable exponent in Lerroux. While Pablo Iglesias was the sower of the Socialist-evolutionist belief, Lerroux was the apostle of the revolutionary republican propaganda. For Iglesias there was no Government; hence one form was as good as another. He looked upon the English Labor Party and the Italian Socialists, and saw how practicable it might be for him to attain some power with the Spanish monarchy. He struggled many times to become a representative, but was not suc-

cessful till much later. Stories were circulated about his corruptibility. The malicious said that when he traveled by train he wore a silk hat until he reached the station just before that in which he was to stop, and that there he changed from first class to third, and changed his frock coat for a workman's blouse. All this was false, emanating from the petty envy of his foes.

Alexander Lerroux was very different, for the calumnies about him have unfortunately been confirmed by his own adherents, almost all of whom have deserted him in these later days. Alexander Lerroux is a sturdy, energetic, and somewhat coarse character, who became an orator by sheer force of much speaking in public; His language is impulsive, but his arguments are clear. He developed the Proudhon maxim that property ownership is robbery, as follows: "However honorable a man may be, it is clear that, if we consider all his antecedents, we will find some ancestor who has acquired something dishonestly, and, therefore, today what man possesses is his by a robbery inheritance."

PERIOD OF GENERAL STRIKES

This method of convincing his audience gained for Don Alexander great popularity, and he acquired in Barcelona such sway over the laboring masses that he was called the "Emperor of the Parallel." "Parallel" (*paralelo* in Spanish) is the name given to a certain workmen's section of Barcelona, because all its streets are laid out in parallel lines. Lerroux controlled half the votes in the city, and the majority of the City Council. Through his influence strikes were started and called off. People came to suspect him. The Government talked secretly with the Republican Socialist leader, and more than one strike was ended because the "Emperor" wished it, and forced it. For ten or fifteen years he was the dictator of the



To maintain order in Barcelona it has been necessary to employ a considerable variety of police and military forces. These are three members of the Guardia Municipal (city police force) unmounted



Infantry outside the barracks in Barcelona

working classes and was made representative by three or four electoral districts, leaving Pablo Iglesias, the upright, relegated to a secondary position, a mere figurehead in the historical museum of Spanish Socialism.

This was the period of the great strikes, for which Barcelona broke the record. Many activities were interrupted, and all industry and commerce were threatened. The Government went into conference with the labor delegates, and back of them, prompting them, was Lerroux. Then on a certain day, at a fixed hour and second, the strike was ended. Don Alexander had come to an understanding with the Government.

The same thing happened in other large and small cities, especially Bilbao, where the steel and iron industry had brought about a marked growth of the city. Here the Socialist and Republican chieftain is the citizen Perezagua. He has been a city Councilman in Bilbao and dictator of the working class. There is an anecdote concerning him which shows the manner of

man he is and which has been recounted by all the papers of the capital. On a certain occasion Perezagua came to Madrid to settle an important Bilbaon question and stayed at the best hotel in the city. Numerous papers not friendly to socialism commented on that and on the following incident: One day when taking dessert, Perezagua called for a piece of the finest cheese. The waiter quickly brought him, to choose from, the best cheeses—Gruyère, Cheshire, Holland, Rochefort, and so forth. Disappointed and rather contemptuous, Perezagua told the waiter he did not want any of them; that he was accustomed to have in Bilbao a certain cheese that cost 15 pesetas or \$3 (Spanish money being at that time nearly on a par with American). That meant that *while the workmen were suffering poverty, their chiefs were feasting like Pantagruel*. From anecdotes of Perezagua and the dictatorial inconstancies of Lerroux, the mind of the Spanish people fashioned a new definition of socialism—a socialism which was but the *aspiration of the bourgeois class utilizing revolution-*

ary means. Lerroux's life confirmed the opinion. Lerroux, with his manoeuvrings, was exploiting the workmen of Barcelona and elsewhere, and was gaining wealth, as Blasco Ibañez, a Republican, like Lerroux, exploited the peasants of Valencia in Argentina. Lerroux's party suffered a grave crisis, but the *obreros* toiled on until there appeared on the Socialist horizon another man who wields the sceptre for Spanish labor today. Of him I shall speak further on.

The great changes in socialism date from the year 1900. The city of Coruña, of ancient anarchistic tendencies, elects the majority of its council members from the Republican Party, as do Bilbao, Barcelona, Valladolid, Madrid, Seville, Valencia, and other cities. In Coruña the majority was always Republican, and in the first year of this century, a general *paro* (strike) was called. There had been great *paros* in Barcelona and Bilbao, but none like this. It was really general—in a word, absolute. The work of all fac-

tories, including the cigar factories, ceased; all commerce, all transit, even domestic service. From the peasants who came to the city to sell milk, eggs and vegetables, a group of workmen took their products and destroyed them. The strikers were masters of the city. The city was in a state of war. No end was in sight. The Castillo de San Anton, a military prison in the middle of the bay, was filled every day with revolutionary anarchists, until the Captain General of Coruña heard that the revolutionary strike *had its origin in the City Council*. Immediately the military authorities threatened to send the whole City Council to the Castillo if the strike did not end within forty-eight hours. The strike ended.

This episode is symptomatic in the history of Spanish Socialism because it was repeated afterward in towns such as Barcelona and Valencia, where the chiefs engaged the masses in a labor of desperation while they remained quietly at home or some leagues distant. The first chiefs of



Carabineros or Guardia Civil (State police) in front of a police station in Barcelona, about to start on their rounds



Keystone

SANTIAGO ALBA

Spanish Foreign Minister until thrown out of office by the leaders of the recent military revolution

Spanish Republicanism, who gave their lives at the barricades were not guilty of this.

I ought now to speak of one of the most important figures in the Socialism of to-day—one who since the beginning of this century has given himself, body and soul, to the defense and spread of Socialism—and who, at the same time, belongs to the Republican Party. This man, whom the writer has known intimately for a long time, is Edward Barriovero.

A PICTURESQUE LEADER

Edward Barriovero y Herran belongs to a noble family of Aragon. From youth he had radical ideas and devoted himself to making them prevail in Spain. He is a Don Quixote in the struggle for his ideal, but a Don Quixote vigorous and triumphant. His career as a political fighter is brilliant. He suffered thirty-eight lawsuits in the courts of justice, and from all of them was absolved by his own defense, for he is a lawyer as well as a politician. His career as a lawyer gave him and still yields him great triumphs. His culture is

very broad. He has some fifty editions of *Don Quixote*, all annotated in their margins; has memorized the immortal book; has made the first Spanish translation of Suetonius's "Life of the Twelve Caesars." In addition to all this, he goes to the bar to defend those charged with crime, and promotes Socialist meetings and public demonstrations of Spanish labor. Personally, he is of the type that seems to have escaped from the French "convention," and reminds one of Robespierre with his elegance combined with his radicalism. At heart he is a well-balanced man, of aristocratic tastes. He has the reputation of having sacrificed much for the workers. I will relate one detail of the multitude that might be recounted.

It was in October of 1903. I was leaving the Royal Theatre after hearing the *Lamoureux Orchestra*. The concert had been interrupted by a group of workmen who went from one theatre to another in Madrid asking that all public demonstrations be suspended immediately, that all might lament a catastrophe that had befallen many workmen. The catastrophe was the sinking of the so-called "third de-



Kadel & Herbert

MELQUIADES ALVAREZ

President of the Cortes (the Spanish Parliament), which was dissolved by King Alfonso when the military dictatorship under General Primo Rivera was set up

posit" of the Canal of Isabel, II., which was to supply drinking water for Madrid. On leaving the Royal Theatre, I met Barriovero heading a formidable Socialist demonstration and carrying a black flag. "You must take off your hat to this flag," he said. "Certainly," I replied; and in the same way all men of the upper class were obliged to salute with their silk hats. Arenal Street was completely filled with workmen, who shook their fists menacingly, and in whose faces one read both horror and ferocity. What had happened? The earth where the canal had been constructed had sunk, causing the death of numerous workmen. The engineers had said that it should not be constructed there, but the company bought that land to favor their head, Don Segismundo Moret, a prominent figure in Spanish politics. As the engineers had prophesied, the land sank.

But Barriovero had taken his Socialists into the street without the permission of the Government, and went to prison as he did on many other occasions. At that time Trotsky was also in prison in Madrid. I have cited this episode to present Barriovero as a tireless Socialist leader.

What progress then has Spanish Socialism made? In brief, it may be affirmed that there has been progress of an economic nature. The salaries of the workmen have increased five-fold. In spite of this, the poverty of the workingman is very great because he suffers exploitation. His conquest of the inviolable eight hours of work has brought him misfortunes. He spends his savings on drink and there are few who attain any reputation for intellectual accomplishment. The strikes destroy them, and consume their wages. They have built Socialist clubs, and there they pass the time in card playing and political controversy. In comparison with the other Socialists of Europe, they never can, for example, create a revolution as in Germany. One attempt was made in August, 1917, and failed. At that time all Spain was the battlefield of a Socialist war. The workmen on the streets of the cities fought with the army. It was a terrible strife—unequal, chaotic. The Government confined the leaders of the movement (Republican Socialist representatives) in the



ABD-EL-KARIM

The leader of the Riff tribesmen against whom the Spanish have been for a long time waging an unsuccessful war in Morocco. The disasters sustained by the Spanish Army was one of the causes of the recent military revolution

prison of Cartagena, and they were subsequently pardoned by Parliament. It was an episode disastrous for the Socialist Party and for the nation.

Then rose the phantom of syndicalism. It has already claimed many victims. It calls its strikes with violence. Some 150 factory owners have been assassinated in the region around Barcelona and Valencia. Lately this state of violence appears to have ceased and it has taken a new form. The workmen—victims of rivalries—slay one another.

The Socialist representatives in general do not do anything positive for the workers. They pronounce phrases and shake the hands of their enemies in Parliament.

DANISH PROGRESS UNDER CHRISTIAN X.

By IVAN CALVIN WATERBURY

Advance toward prosperity and enlightenment by making the best of a small territory—Part played by democratic monarch in safeguarding the nation's interests—Copenhagen's renaissance as the "Queen of the Baltic"

DENMARK, aided more recently by the recovery of North Slesvig, has for many years past been among the most progressive nations of the world. This has been largely, though by no means wholly, due to the reclamation of waste lands and co-operative agricultural development. While the turbulent little countries of Eastern Europe and the Balkans often receive more than their due share of attention, Denmark, pursuing an orderly career in which prosperity and enlightenment go hand in hand, is apt to be forgotten, unless some peaceful event, such as the celebration of the silver wedding of King Christian X. and Queen Alexandrine, rouses at least some passing interest.



KING CHRISTIAN X. OF DENMARK

The great event of Danish national life in the reign of Christian X. has been, of course, the recovery of North Slesvig after more than fifty years of Prussian rule. Though Denmark took no part in the World War, she had already played her part in her heroic resistance to the combined forces of Germany and Austria-Hungary in 1864. Even in the World War, more than 50,000 Danes enlisted in the allied armies and (the great majority) in the American forces, in which no racial element carried off more honors for gallant conduct. Nothing has given King Christian greater satisfaction than to recover, by a three-to-one majority in the plebiscite, the territory of North Slesvig (half as large again as Rhode Island) of which his grandfather, Christian IX., was robbed by the Germans under Bismarck's leadership. In memory of the joy he felt when he rode his white charger for the first time across the frontier into the redeemed province, Christian X. each time he visits North Slesvig (which is several times a year) calls on the little girl he picked up on that occasion.

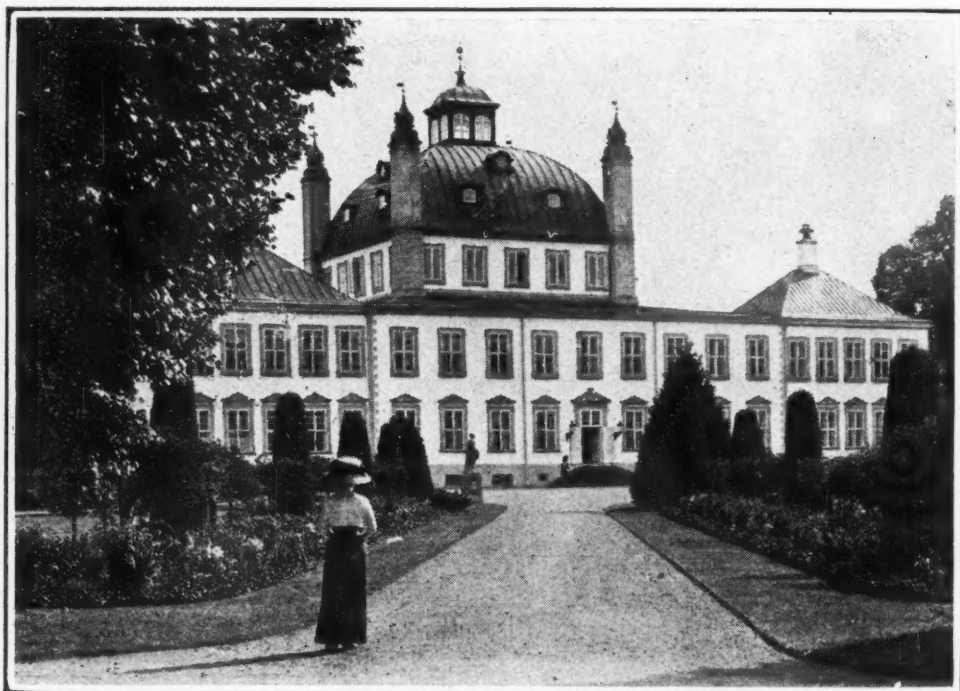
It is well for Europe, in its economic chaos, that the Scandinavian kingdoms were able to remain neutral during the war. Denmark's moral position was such that she could afford to take a neutral attitude. Single handed in 1864 she fought a heroic fight against the overwhelming odds of Germany and Austria-Hungary, who together succeeded in taking away two-fifths of Denmark's territory (Slesvig, Holstein and Lauenborg), as Germany had tried in vain to do alone in the Slesvig-Holstein wars a few years before. The great powers had been bound by solemn

treaties to come to Denmark's rescue from German aggression in much the same way as the neutrality of Belgium was guaranteed. By leaving Denmark in the lurch in 1864 the powers forfeited Denmark's aid when they had to face German and Austrian aggression. According to the Danish view, if they had fulfilled their treaty obligations, they might have stunted the growth of German imperialism with a timely blow and saved themselves the necessity of fighting the great war of 1914-1918. In this connection, Americans should remember a great service rendered by Denmark, although sorely beset in 1864, to the United States during the Civil War. Denmark, still powerful in the North Sea, was in a position to inflict great financial losses upon Germany by capturing her merchantmen, but out of sympathy with the Unionist cause, the Danish navy lifted its blockade so that German vessels could carry much-needed supplies to the Northern States.

The triumphs of King Christian's reign are worthy of Denmark's greatest historic

epochs, for they represent moral victories over physical and political handicaps. There is the remarkable success in agriculture, making the country the "larder of Europe" and delivering, through the efficient example of the Danish Agricultural Co-operative Societies, a message of redemption to farmers in the United States and every other country where the tiller of the soil is deprived of the full product of his labor. By reclaiming over 2,500 square miles of useless heath, marsh and sand dune territory and converting the land into valuable fields and forests, Denmark has offset by internal expansion one-half of the territory lost to Germany in 1864.

By the co-operation of agricultural and shipping interests, Denmark has developed a merchant marine that would do credit to a country several times larger. Not a few commercial enterprises of world-wide scope are Danish, notably the Great Northern Telegraph Company, with lines radiating over Northern Europe and, through Russia and Siberia, to China and Japan.



Fredensborg Palace, built by King Frederick IV. of Denmark in 1722. It was here that between 1883 and 1893 King Christian IX. entertained many of the crowned heads of Europe and their families

The magnitude of this company's holdings in China are an important factor in international negotiations. The East Asiatic Company, one of the world's largest business firms, combines trade, shipping, manufacturing and extensive plantations in the Far East. The company is the creation of H. N. Andersen who, rising from poverty and obscurity, has had a career similar to that of Charles Schwab. Then there is the great United Steamship Company of Copenhagen, owner of the Scandinavian-American Line which maintains regular sailings to practically every port of importance throughout the world.

In science Denmark has gained many distinctions during the present reign. Among the achievements worthy of mention are: the Finsen-ray cure for lupus (skin-tuberculosis), cancer, and other diseases; Dr. August Krogh's physiological discovery of the secrets of the capillary circulation of the blood, and the physico-chemical work of Dr. Niels Bohr, who by discovering new chemical elements and the secrets of atomic structure, has helped to pave the way toward the harnessing of atom-explosions destined to revolutionize industry and war.

In the realm of industrial art the Danes are unexcelled, as is evidenced by the famous Royal Copenhagen porcelain, Danish pottery, silver work, and other forms of craftsmanship. "To make useful things beautiful" is the guiding principle that inspires so much excellent work.

Despite the lamentations of Danish poets over the disappearance of the picturesque heaths, bogs and sand dunes of their country as the result of the activities of the Danish Heath (Reclamation) Society, founded in 1866 by the engineering genius of the late Colonel Enrico Mylius Dalgas, the work has gone on with unabated energy. For fifty years bogs have been drained, the barren soil of moor and sand dune treated with marl and other fertilizing material, and wherever possible, irrigated. New farms have thus sprung up to add to the nation's prosperity. Forestry has at the same time progressed through the planting of red spruce under French mountain firs imported as nurse-trees, these nurse-trees being cleared out as fast as the valuable spruce trees grew big



QUEEN ALEXANDRINE OF DENMARK

enough to take their place in the sun. Denmark, indeed, has shown how room can be made for an increasing population by peaceful conquest over nature.

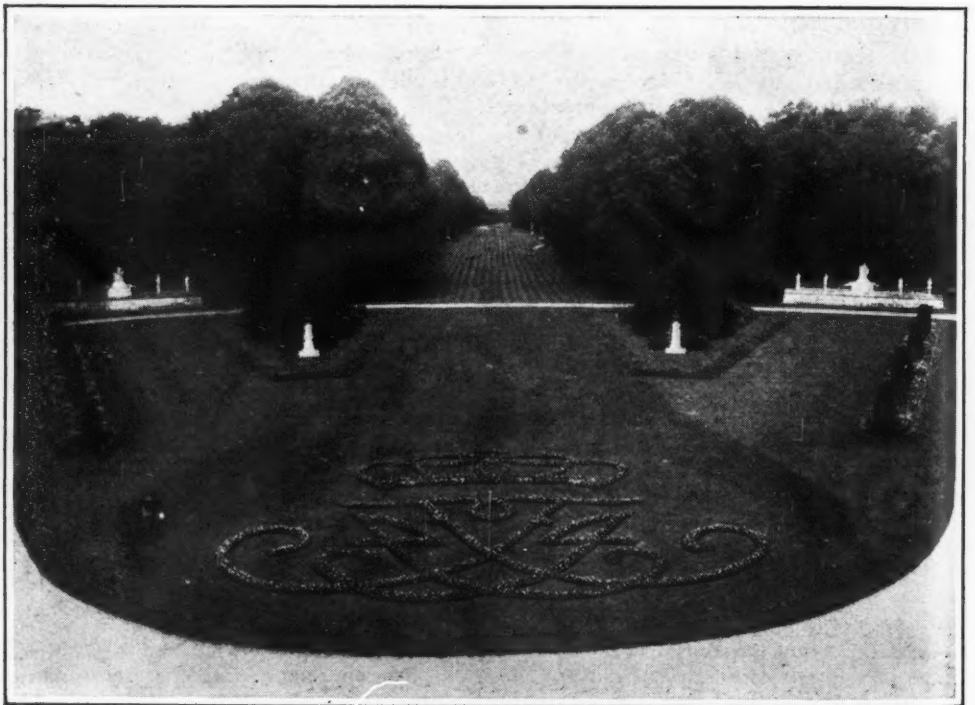
Seen against the background of the Viking age, the aggressions of the Hanseatic League, and the present-day growth of America's merchant marine, Copenhagen's renaissance as the "Queen of the Baltic" is one of the romances of modern commerce. This development results from the farsighted organization of the port of Copenhagen as a free port, fully equipped with loading and unloading machinery, dry docks and facilities for storage and transshipment. But this is not all, for Denmark is creating a "Dardanelles of the North." The Drogden Channel, southeast of Copenhagen, when open to navigation, will be a short cut to the whole Baltic region for deep-draught ships, saving them the usual detour of nearly 200 miles by way of the Great Belt and an equal distance by way of the Kiel Canal, besides dispensing with the delays and heavy tolls in the canal.

King Christian has won his popularity by his character and his statesmanlike ability. Born in 1870, he was married in 1898 to Alexandrine Augusta, the beauti-

ful Duchess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and ascended the throne in 1912, after the short reign of his father, Frederick VIII. Under the law of 1866 Denmark has a Parliamentary Government, so that King Christian's powers are limited and do not give him the free scope an absolute monarch enjoys. In these circumstances it is no easy task to become a commanding figure in the life of the nation. However, by his tact and through the influence of his personal ties with the ruling houses of other countries, King Christian has played his part, showing his ability in saving Denmark from becoming the cockpit of the World War in spite of the machinations of the Germans and the radical and pro-German elements. His popularity surpasses even that enjoyed by Christian IX., who, as head of the most numerous royal family in the world, became the "father-in-law of Europe." The ex-Kaiser Wilhelm II. tried hard to get into the select company that held famous reunions in Fredensborg Castle (with the families of Czar Nicholas, Queen Victoria, King

George of Greece, and others), for he asked Christian IX. to regard him as a "son of the house," but Wilhelm II. was never a welcome guest at the Danish Court, and was never liked by either the King or the people of Denmark. More often than not the Danish monarch would find some excuse to prevent the ex-Kaiser from visiting him, the reason being simply dislike of Wilhelm's swaggering ways. The recent financial crisis in which the Landmandsbank was involved had unfortunate results for certain members of the royal family, but they have taken their reverses in good part. Prince Aage has gone into service as a Major in the French Foreign Legion in Morocco, while Prince Erik has become a dairy farmer in Canada.

The influence exercised by King Christian X. is illustrated by another event of his reign. Iceland, after being for centuries a Danish dependency, recently became independent in all matters except foreign relations and defense. Christian X. is now King of Iceland as well as of Denmark, the two being united only in having the same monarch.



The park of the Palace of Fredensborg

ALBANIA'S RISE TO NATIONHOOD

By LORETA RUSH

Chief external difficulties due to Jugoslavian and Greek aspirations—The religious question of only secondary importance—Advancement held by the survival of clan life and customs

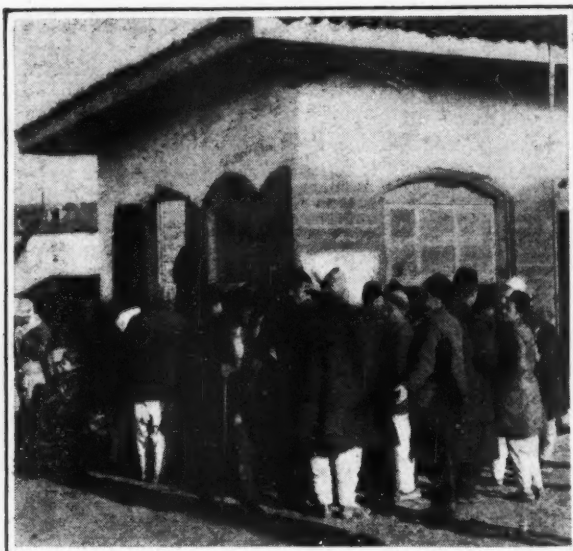
THE recent dispute between Italy and Greece has again directed attention to the little nation, which lying in its rocky lands on the other side of the Adriatic from Italy's flying heel, has insisted upon regaining its independence lost to the Turks 400 years ago, and steadfastly refused to recognize the dominance of any other race or Government within its territories, whatever be the grandiose imperialistic designs of such intruders. Albania since her revolt from Turkey early in 1912 (before the so-called Balkan Wars of that year) has lived through the vicissitudes of an International Commission of Control, the Austrian war occupation, and an Italian protectorate, and has emerged since 1920 with a recognized Government of its own.

The convention at Lushnja, in 1920, established a Regency Cabinet composed of representatives from each main religious body, or two Christians, Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox, and two Moslems, Sunni and Bektashi, which Regency has limited executive powers. A Council of Ministers is responsible to the Parliament, which is composed of 72 members in one elective chamber. There are two political parties known as Progressive and Popular, which, during the first years of independence, have united in Coalition Cabinets. This Government secured the admission of Albania into the League of Nations on Dec. 17, 1920, and brought about a degree of internal development, religious amity, and progressive aspirations for modern schools and industries that was indicative of real control. A Government that could start without funds or arms, and collect taxes from the Albanians who had so fiercely declined to pay taxes to Turkey, surely must have the people behind it. Great Britain, therefore, in No-

vember, 1921, took firm action to alleviate the external conditions which were hampering Albania and not only recognized the existing Government but urged a special session of the Council to determine upon the justice of Albanian complaints of Serbian aggressions on the northern boundaries, and Greek intrusions on the southern. Other nations took action, the United States being one of those to grant recognition.

There have been many changes of Cabinet in Albania in its first years of independence. The two Moslem Regents seemed to be exercising an undue degree of influence and some anxiety was expressed lest the Moslems secure too great a control of the country. This led to the Mirdites (the main Catholic tribe in the north) forming an independent republic and asking the League of Nations for protection against the "Turkish" Government at Tirana. This movement apparently had the same motive as the revolution which broke out at Tirana on March 8, 1922. This was an attempt to embarrass the existing Government during the visit of the Council of Ambassadors which was working on the final boundary settlements. Knowing how things happen in the Balkans, it seems extremely probable that some foreign money may have been involved in the organization of these revolts.

Great Britain's activity in 1921 impelled the Conference of Ambassadors to a decision under which the southern frontier was that as delimited in 1913, but in the north, three areas were given to Yugoslavia for strategic reasons irrespective of ethnic or economic considerations. It is well known that fair frontiers must be set to a State before people can collect their thoughts to their specific territories and direct their energies toward national development.



Keystone

The much frequented corner of the Rue Internationale at Scutari where Albanians meet for political discussion

This right was denied to Albania because of the exorbitant demands of the Balkan States, the general ignorance of Europe as to the ethnic conditions involved, and the blindness of European diplomacy to the rising power of nationalism in its relations to their cherished ends.

Despite the cramped quarters and the already mentioned uncertainties, the Albanian Government was able to separate the Moslems, who predominate in Albania, from the "shariat," or religious law, of Islam, and so establish a State judicial system. The Government has also made great strides in removing the educational handicap imposed by the Sultans who had ordered the Albanian language suppressed and would allow no textbooks in what the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople officially proclaimed "that accursed language." No movement instigated by any Government in Albania can hope to succeed without education to propagate it; the present demand for schools and teachers argues well. The newly enacted tariff law admits agricultural implements and machinery free of duty.

Whether or not Albania can maintain an independent existence is an open question. There are external and internal fac-

tors counting for and against. Her external dangers centre in the jealousies and unreasonable aspirations of her neighbors, Yugoslavia and Greece, while Italy is not above suspicion. The claims of Albania and Serbia to Kossovo Plain are many and good enough on either side to make a case were not the other side considered. The Serbs point to the capital of Stefan Dushan, their greatest King, at Prisrend in Kossovo, and instance the churches the great Nemanya Kings established there. They plead that Serbia must have in her present-day State all the territory she covered during her day of greatest extent; and particularly must she have the battlefield on which she twice lost her lead of Balkan affairs, and which is so interwoven in the folklore of her

people. The Albanians, on the other hand, point to their occupation of the plain many hundred years before the Slavic Serbs left their ancestral homes far to the north, and remind one that when the Serbs fled from Turkish oppression it was the Albanians who flocked back and reinstated themselves where they at present have a great majority.

The Jugoslavian advocates say those Albanians placed under Serbia in Kossovo Plain and around Djakovica are much better off than their neighbors in the mountains, cut off from their market villages and molested by "Turkish oppression from Tirana"; Henry Baerlein says that groups of these oppressed Christian Albanians in Albania are pleading to be admitted to Yugoslavia. Having lived at Pec (Ipek) some months in the winter of 1920-1921, I know the Serbs are not such angels as Baerlein pictures them. I found that the Albanians in Kossovo, Djakovica, and Pec are eager to be reunited with their own country rather than with Serbia, and I know that many Albanians under Serbian rule at present would much rather return to Turkish rule than continue under Serbian. Yet, if they attempt to throw off the Serbian yoke, it will be for the free-

dom of their own national State and not for reunion with Turkey. The silly and galling restrictions, added to the discriminations and injustices which so overwhelm the Moslem subjects of Serbia now, are apt to blind us to the fact that Serbians in Southern Yugoslavia are now, since 1912, taking the whip held by the Moslems for centuries, and their retaliations are no more severe than have been their previous wounds or than would be the counter retaliations of the Moslems should they regain control. It is a see-saw which has gone on since the Slavs were first pushed into the Balkans, centuries ago. So long as there are populations divided between any two Balkan peoples there is danger of such strife. But when a region is as largely Albanian as are Kossovo and Metohja Plains, it seems but fair that the largest number should rule. It is unfortunate that Serbs were allowed to occupy certain regions in the name of the Allies. The occupation would have created less friction had it been initiated by any of the great powers and later turned over to the neighboring guard.

The Greeks, for their part, insist that they deserve larger parts of Epirus. It might furnish some of the firebrands food for humbler thought if they investigated the history of their own national revolution and considered the part played by Albanians in securing Greek freedom. Wad-

ham Peacock, in his "Albania, the Foundling State," says: "It is unlikely that the liberation of Greece would have been obtained had it not been for the Albanian warriors, who supplied the best fighting material for the insurrection." The Greeks claim there are more Greeks in Northern Epirus or Southern Albania than Albanians, simply because there are more Orthodox Catholics in those regions than Moslems, thus trying to set up national divisions on the basis of religious belief. They might as logically claim all Orthodox Catholics of Serbia, Bulgaria and Russia. The attempts of the Greeks to hoodwink the International Boundary Commission, sent in 1913 to decide boundaries by language tests, were not at all to the credit of Greece. It is with appreciation one reads that the Commissioners were too astute to be dupes for long, although the resulting decision, based on economic and geographical considerations, excluded more Albanians than it included Greeks. That decision was upheld by the Ambassadors Commission in 1921.

The Greeks add further that the Moslems of Albania are in league with Mustapha Kemal. Probably some few are; I do not believe the majority feel that way. When the Balkan League attacked Turkey in 1912 the Albanians, having just won their independence from Turkey, did not fight with their fellow-Moslems. I see no reason why they should now, after ten years of severance.

There is another considerable danger, namely, that the powers will revert to their old conception of a "State" and will again divide Albania and barter her parts, should occasion offer in the Balkans, and thus justify the verdict passed by an old Albanian dragoman, who said, "Lady, these so-called great powers are no better than a band of brigands. By day they quarrel with one another, but when it is dark they all go out robbing together."

There are two serious internal troubles which beset the struggling State. The lesser of these



Keystone

Albanian children in one of the streets of Scutari

is the question of religions. Over half the people are Moslems, albeit Moslems of a non-fanatical sect, and in the case of the Bektashis, of a strikingly tolerant belief. During the crusading days of the Turks many leaders, not only in Albania but throughout Bosnia and Bulgaria, accepted Islam to escape persecution, not from any change of heart. Consequently, they have not been deeply concerned in spreading the faith. When visiting in the home of influential Albanian friends I noticed that out of a household of thirty-five only one was meticulous in his observance of the prayer hour, while one or two others made a few vague motions. Never in Albania have I seen the universal response theoretically given in all Moslem countries when the *hodija's* eery call floats out from the minaret at nightfall and dawn. Only as regards observance of their fasting months ("Ramazan") are the present-day Moslems particular. The remaining peoples are Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic. But Albanians are very tolerant as respects religion; they have never had a religious war in their country, and are rapidly overcoming the obstacles of beliefs.

The primary difficulty faced by Albanian leaders is the individualistic and clanish nature of the Albanian himself. It is frequently stated that Albanians have not the stability of character to maintain a unified Government; that they revert too easily to the old tribal customs, having no background of Government. The nature of the country has conspired to keep the peoples more or less isolated through the centuries, each valley self-sufficient, with no necessity or possibility of a Government larger in scope than the clan. The policy of the Turk fostered this instinct. Clan customs have held in Albania not because the people are racially inferior, but because circumstances of life have shut them away from the contacts with other peoples which are necessary for progress. Albanians are innately proud, chivalrous and liberty loving, with an eager, practical spirit. By means of education their clan vision can be widened to a national vision,

and eventually to the world vision the rest of us are struggling to obtain. The most progressive Albanians are in the south, where Greek and Italian schools, while sowing political discord have, nevertheless, raised the level of education. In central Albania we find a people one step further back in the age of the "county squires" where a middle class maintains a democratic independence, while in Northern Albania a remnant of feudalism is found in the aristocratic oligarchy.

But there are bright spots in the aspect of this gravest problem. The race that claims a share in Constantine the Great, Diocletian, Marcus Aurelius and Justinian, Scanderbeg, Medmit Ali, the Kuprulis of Constantinople and other great leaders, cannot be devoid of the fundamental material of which nations are made. That such leaders have come from Albanian parentage indicates remarkable virility and stamina. Given education and a chance to develop, Albania may quickly rise to a real sisterhood with the nations of Europe. The accomplishments of the Government since 1920 have been considerable, and are an earnest of what many friends of the Albanians hope will be the ultimate settlement of the Albanian question.

"With a fair chance and with a better Government than has existed in the past, these warlike mountaineers must therefore now devote themselves to the work of serious construction or reconstruction, and realize that as they may yet be largely dependent upon their neighbors and upon the powers, they must evolve their salvation without complaint, resentment or recrimination. So long as the Supreme Council does not give Albania fair treatment and does not assign natural frontiers to her, the land will be a prey to troubles the repercussions of which will be felt throughout the whole Balkan Peninsula."

There are trials ahead recognized by all. There are dangers for Albania and for Europe. There is need for leaders of the highest type. Let us have faith in the ability of mankind to measure to the needs of a situation, to carry on the task whether in Albania or in our own land.

THE TURK AS A BUSINESS MAN

By MUFTI-ZADE K. ZIA BEY

Author of "Speaking of the Turk."

The author of this article is the son of the former Turkish Ambassador in London. He has traveled much in Europe and lived for a number of years in Italy. He is now a resident of the United States, where he is Vice President of an important banking firm

Charge that the Turk is a bad business man unfounded—A slander spread by selfish concessionaires, to force the Turks to grant new privileges—Business ability shown by new regime, and by progressive Turks abroad

ONCE more the Turk is being given a new reputation. Writers, publicists and politicians of the Western world ponderously state that he is not a business man. And the great mass, who have never been in Turkey and have never seen a Turk, take this statement for gospel truth. The falsity of the charge, however, can easily be demonstrated.

It is said that the Turk, being a good soldier and a good farmer, cannot possess the qualities required to be a good business man. If this reasoning were true, however, its reverse should also be true, yet those who accept it would find it difficult to prove that the Americans, who are the best business men in the world, are not also good soldiers and good farmers. The world knows that it was the American soldier, and no one else, who secured the victory of the Allies on the Western front. The world knows that it is the American farmer who, in the last analysis, has made the American business man. The argument is, therefore, childish and can be set aside as such.

It is also said that business in Turkey has hitherto been controlled by Greeks, Armenians and foreigners, and that, therefore, the exchange of populations now going on between Greece and Turkey, as well as the withdrawal of foreigners from Turkey, will be detrimental to the nation's business, which will be left in the inexperienced hands of the Turk.

Though it is true that business in Turkey has been controlled by Greeks, Armenians and foreigners, this does not mean that there were no Turks at all in business. I could name off hand two

score or more of pure-blooded Turks known to me personally, who have been in business in Constantinople for more than ten years and have made a brilliant success, despite the fact that the country was continuously at war and notwithstanding the special privileges enjoyed by foreigners in Turkey.

That the control of business was in the hands of non-Turks was not due to any lack of business acumen in the Turks, but precisely to the existence of these privileges in favor of foreigners. These special prerogatives included exemption from taxation and the "moral" backing given to the non-Turks by the representatives of their respective Governments in Constantinople.

I may cite here my personal experience of the unfair competition to which the Turks were subjected by the foreign authorities in Turkey. When I returned there, immediately after the war, to introduce American coal, I found that as a Turkish business man I would be so taxed that I would not be able to compete with British coal importers. Furthermore, my office and my home were liable to be requisitioned at any time by the inter-allied authorities. By requisitioning Turkish offices and homes, ostensibly "for military purposes" these authorities had successfully forced many Turks out of business. Consequently, to protect myself in my own country, I had to undertake my business under the name of an American firm I was representing. Only then, when placed under the protection of the American flag, was I able to engage in legitimate business!

Prior to the war the backing given by foreign missions to their citizens or to those under their protection doing business in Turkey, did not always stop within the limits of moral or diplomatic action. Every one remembers that France sent her fleet to the Dardanelles and occupied the then Turkish Island of Mytilena to back the demands which two Levantines under French protection, Mr. Lorando and Mr. Tubini, had made on the Turkish Government for the building of the Quays in Constantinople in competition with local construction firms. The two Levantines obtained their demand. But we Turks do not believe that these aliens were better business men than their Turkish competitors, nor do we forget that one of them was "related" to the then French Ambassador.

As for the argument that business in Turkey will suffer from the exchange of populations and the departure of foreigners, it is amusing to note that those very people who now extol the business ability of the departing Greeks and declare that the business activities of the country were controlled by foreigners, were insisting, but a few months ago, that a nation like Turkey, which was allegedly so behind the times in business, was an uncivilized and barbarous country! I fail to see how these pessimists can reconcile these two diametrically opposed assertions. Either business was not behind the times in Turkey or the Greeks and foreigners who controlled business in Turkey were not, after all, such good business men, and the withdrawal of Greeks and foreigners from the field will do more good than harm to the country's business.

It should here be stated that the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey, though probably economically unsound and surely not humane, was neither proposed nor advocated by Turkey, as is now often stated. The truth is that neither Turkey nor Greece originated this plan, which was conceived and advocated by the League of Nations. It should also be understood that we Turks do not ask for or even desire the departure of foreign business men from our country, provided they are willing in the future to work

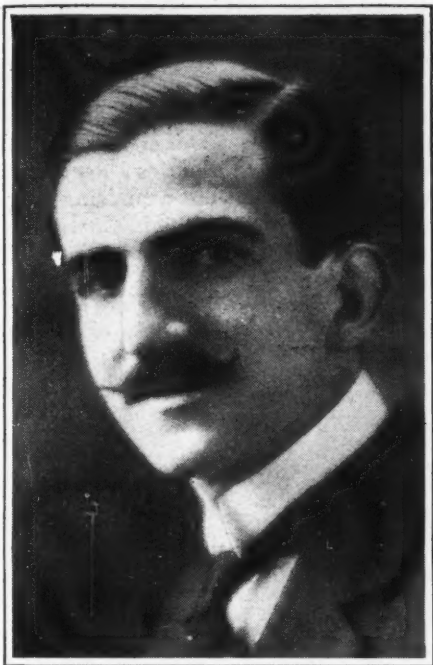
without any special privileges, on an equal basis with local business men and without engaging in unfair competition—in short, conduct themselves like respectable business people working in a country which has accepted and is enforcing the open-door policy with equal opportunities to all.

The evident non-willingness of foreigners to continue business in Turkey on the same basis as the Turks themselves may be taken as a tribute to the business ability of the Turks. Foreigners who do not want to stay, since their privileges have been abolished, evidently shy from the legitimate competition of Turkish business men!

SLANDER BY WESTERN CONCESSIONAIRES

The charge that the Turk is not a business man is easily explained. For the last century public opinion in the Western world has been trained to think about the Turk in terms of nicknames and slogans. His reputation has been made by these epithets. Each generation of Western propagandists has dubbed the Turk with the name or the definition which was best suited to excite the ire or the contempt of world opinion against the Turk. At the time of Gladstone the slogan was "the unspeakable Turk." Since then, however, the Turk has been spoken of, and often quite favorably, as, for instance, by General Townshend, Lord Allenby, Mr. Toynbee and other prominent Englishmen who have lived in Turkey. Later the catchword was "the sick man of Europe"—yet every one now agrees that the Turk is in better health today than he ever was, and even in better health than many European nations.

The world is now entering upon a cycle of pure economics. Europe wishes to retain or regain its hold on Turkey. The greatest potential menace to the fulfillment of this desire is American aid to Turkey. If America and the Americans could be convinced that the Turk is not a business man they would not help him in rebuilding his country and in developing the unlimited natural resources which abound in Asia Minor, and the Turk would then be obliged to turn once more to his former business partners of Europe. He might even, in despair, be forced to restore some



MUFTI-ZADE K. ZIA BEY

Member of a well-known Turkish diplomatic family, a successful man of business and a writer on Turkish affairs, now resident in America

of the privileges they enjoyed in the past, and business would again be conducted in Turkey through the medium of British, French, Greek, Armenian and other middlemen.

But if American money is made directly available to the Turks for the development of their country, what would happen to the poor middlemen? They would have to stay out of Turkey for good, and Turkish riches are much too tempting to forego. American aid must, therefore, be prevented, and can easily be prevented. No one will lend money for business purposes to any one reputed to be a poor business man. Through the invisible channels of European propaganda this new "reputation" is, therefore, being laboriously, insidiously and slanderously built up in America for the Turk.

Those who declare that there are very few Turks who have any business experience would do well to remember that though this might have been true about ten years ago, many Turks have entered

business since then—so many, in fact, that two-thirds of the members of the new Turkish Parliament, the Grand National Assembly, as it is called, are business men and professionals. What better proof can there be that the majority of the Turks today are engaged in business and in professions? When one considers the exceptional success attained by them in these last years, despite the unfair competition of the shrewd Levantines, it becomes apparent that the claim that the Turk is not a business man cannot be sustained. The business ability of the Turks can best be evidenced from the fact that since they took charge of the affairs of their country Turkish finances and economics have been placed on a sounder basis than those of most of the countries of the Old World, and this notwithstanding the continuous wars and invasions to which Turkey has been subjected. Let me cite a few facts:

SOUND FINANCE IN RECENT YEARS

Of all the nations of the world, except the United States, Turkey is the only one that has not had recourse to foreign loans in the last ten years. She financed her share of the World War by internal loans and by direct taxation. In the last three years she financed her bitter fight against the Greek invaders exclusively through her own resources. But that is not all. During all these last years she did not issue a single penny's worth of paper money, while the printing presses of other European countries have been working overtime. The net result of this financial feat is that the total present indebtedness of Turkey, including her outstanding internal and external loans, amounts to only about \$750,000,000. As her population totals about 15,000,000, this means that her per capita average share of indebtedness approximates to only \$50.

If one compares these figures with the total indebtedness of the United Kingdom, amounting to \$37,000,000,000, or over \$750 per capita; with that of France, of nearly \$21,000,000,000, about \$520 per capita, and even with that of the United States, which amounts to about \$200 per capita, one will be able to form an idea of the soundness of Turkish finances. It may be objected that a poor man who

owes \$10 is worse off than a millionaire who owes a thousand, and that nations are in the same position. This is true, but Turkey is not poor; her paper money circulation is estimated to be now reduced to about \$500,000,000, as against \$235,000,000 in gold coins circulating in Anatolia, or 45 per cent. gold against paper, a record far better than that of most countries today. Furthermore, she has untold natural resources, such as mines of all kinds, and she is astride of the most important trade routes of the old Continent.

BUSINESS SUCCESS ABROAD

One need not go to Turkey, however, to prove that the Turk is a good business man. Although the Turkish colony in the United States is mostly composed of a comparatively few plain and more or less uneducated people, when recently a subscription was organized to assist the Turkish refugees, war widows and orphans, the colony here succeeded in raising exclusively from its own resources nearly a quarter of a million dollars. This shows a certain degree of prosperity and success in business, considering that the Turks in America number only about 5,000 people in all. Most of them are workingmen, it is true, but among them are quite a number who have acquired some business of their own. In New England alone there are about a dozen or so prosperous Turkish retail merchants.

As for the better educated Turks in the United States, let me again cite some facts. Outside of the diplomatic representatives of Turkey, there have come to my knowledge some sixteen Turks of the better

educated classes within the last ten years. This includes seven or eight students, who went back to Turkey after having finished their education in some of the big American universities. Of the remainder, two are now occupying good positions in the Radio Company of America; one is considered to be among the promising young engineers of the Edison Light Company of New York; another is a very favorably known mining engineer who is at present prospecting some mines in Mexico for a prominent American firm; one has a tobacco import business of his own in New York; another is manager of an export and import company financed by both Turkish and American capital, and one is a photographer who has acquired for himself a successful position in his profession.

These results are not so bad if one takes into consideration that they were all achieved at a time when Turkey had the misfortune to be at war, that these lonely Turks were engaged in forging their way ahead in America, where business is so keen, and that they had the handicap of being Turks, an accident of nature which is certainly a handicap in Western countries, even in America.

It is clear, therefore, that the Turks have the qualities required to become business men, and they will undoubtedly develop these qualities more extensively in the future, unless the whole world leagues together and shuts in their faces the door of equal opportunity for all—the door that was at last opened at the Lausanne Conference. Many people who are unjustly prejudiced against Turkey wish for such an occurrence, but we have faith in the good judgment of the world.

THE MEXICAN FASCISTI

By CARLETON BEALS

Author of "Mexico: An Interpretation" and "Rome or Death,"
the story of the rise of Mussolini and his Black Shirts to power

*Differences between the reactionary movements in Italy and Mexico
—The rise of a Mexican bourgeoisie that favors liberalism and
democracy—The tradition of dictatorship inherited from Spanish rule*

PERHAPS it should be expected that Fascism, in traveling half around the world to Mexico, would fail to arrive in first-class condition. Nor do the Mexicans know exactly what to do with the exotic product. When I left Mexico shortly after the "Revindicating Revolution" of Obregon, Italian Fascism was scarcely known to the outside world. When I reached Italy in February, 1921, Fascism was just swinging into action. For two years, at first hand, I watched the movement develop from sporadic violence on the part of a few fanatic enthusiasts into a militant national expression of mystic, idealistic reaction. On returning to Mexico I found a weak but noisy off-spring.

Italian Fascism is largely the product of nationalism, syndicalism and *arditismo*. None of these tendencies, strictly speaking, has entered into the formation of Mexican Fascism. The cry of "Italia Irredenta," the cry for the annexation of the Italian-speaking provinces ruled by Austria, gave the Italian nationalist movement a crusading zeal for fifty years. The sycophancy of the post-unification Governments in the face of the intrigues of the great powers—Great Britain, France, Germany and Russia—coupled with the traditional poverty of the Italian people, gave rise to the nationalist conception that Italy was a "proletarian nation" which must fight for its place in the world against the "capitalist nations." The annexation of Julian Venice as a result of the war diverted this energy into the forcible nationalization of the new aliens, the Slavs, Germans and Magyars. The first efforts of the early Fasci, or "bands," were directed toward the burning of foreign-language schools,

meeting places, newspaper offices and churches, to stirring up the question of Fiume and of the annexation of Dalmatia; and toward keeping alive the consciousness of the future necessity for Italian expansion in the Mediterranean sector. Obviously the Mexican Fascisti would find difficulty in arousing any enthusiasm for a war for the recovery of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California. Only the German Junkers were so obtuse as to believe such a thing possible. Nor have the Mexican Fascisti shown any indication of raiding or burning American, German or French schools and churches, or making good Mexican citizens out of American petroleum producers. Indeed, the present Government, as the culminating expression of a ten-year revolutionary movement, represents the coalescing of a determined resolution in the minds of the Mexican people to resist the ruthless giving away of the national resources to foreign capital. Mexican Fascism thus finds its thunder stolen by the Government in power. And it cannot very well advocate an irrational imperialism, as do the Fascisti in Italy.

Again, in Italy the revolutionary syndicalists were converted to patriotism because of the war. This war-time alliance with the Government and the Nationalists had its precedent in the common action (at the time of unification) of the Mazzini-Garibaldi revolutionary elements and the conservative, Cavour, House-of-Savoy elements. Following the great war, numbers of the syndicalist leaders flung themselves into Fascist activities against the Socialists, the latter having earlier deserted a reformist position to oppose the war and having subsequently allied them-

selves with the Moscow International in order to promote a revolution along Bolshevik lines. But in Mexico the main body of the workers, some 500,000 organized into the Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana (C. R. O. M.), are tacitly with the Government, and their head, Luis N. Morones, is director of the national munition factories. Furthermore, Mexican labor is newly organized; its aims are simply and directly formulated; it had learned opportunism from the necessity of submerging its instinctive revolutionary activities through fear of invading American capital and the steady diplomatic pressure of the United States Government. It has never been made up of middle-class elements, as was, in large measure, true of many of the Italian radical groups. Nor has the Catholic-Nationalist-Socialist split that features the Italian labor movement ever intruded into Mexican labor questions. Mexican labor has utterly no precedents for uniting with Fascism. The campaign of the Mexican Fascisti for the support of organized labor has borne practically no fruit as contrasted to the growth of the Fascist *corporazioni* in Italy to a membership of over a million in less than a year.

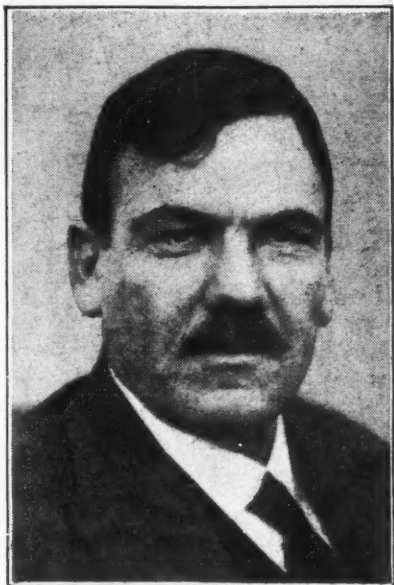
MILITARY LEADERS' ATTITUDE

Arditismo, the third constituting element of Italian Fascism, is a polite name for war violence. The *arditi*, largely drawn from the lower middle class (*piccola borghesia*), were the shock troops on the Austrian front. Arditism, or the post-armistice activities of these discharged units, furnished, along with syndicalism, the brutal direct-action tactics of the Italian Fascist movement. The ex-officers of the war provided the directing genius for the drive on Rome, and General Diaz, formerly a Commander-in-Chief, is the right-hand man of Mussolini. But Mexico has had no foreign war; it has had ten years of revolution—ten years of chaotic, surging, libertarian-democratic-socialistic doctrines. And while this might bespeak the possibility of a counter-revolution, all the leaders who have military experience profess loyalty to the cause that overthrew Porfirio Diaz, that overthrew Huerta, that put an end to the army-plunder régime of Car-

ranza, that put Obregón into power. Some time ago forty Generals, practically the unanimous military genius of the revolution, met to pledge united and active opposition to Mexican Fascism.

Furthermore, in Italy the middle class, from the younger generation of which were drawn the *arditi* and the flying Fascist squadrons, has been crushed between the revolutionary "push" of the organized proletariat (including the peasants, who boycotted the cities) and the war profiteers, or *pescicani*. As a result it was scourged into militancy; whereas in Mexico the middle class has never been militant, rather, in spite of the ten-year revolution, it has continually expanded in strength, in numbers and in economic and social influence. Traditionally and instinctively, the Mexican middle class has invariably tended to make its peace with every *de facto* Government. It has no interest in being drawn into an anti-governmental Fascist alignment.

In Italy there have existed two traditions, never discredited, which attest the thinness of the veneer of modern political democracy. One is the tradition of the Caesar, the dictator, put into power by his enthusiastic soldiers—the Praetorian Guard tradition. The other, also born of Roman imperialism, is the super-State tradition, which descended to our times as Prussianism. Democracy, in the form that we recognize it, has always failed in Italy, has, sooner or later, gone down before the military-hierarchy-Caesar precedent. Mussolini today can say boldly, without arousing noticeable domestic criticism: "The great experience of the after-war period marks the defeat of liberalism. Both in Russia and in Italy it has been demonstrated that it is possible to govern outside, above and against all liberal ideas. Neither Communism nor Fascism has anything to do with liberty. * * * Fascism * * * has already passed, and if necessary will again pass without the slightest hesitation, over the body, more or less decomposed, of the Goddess of Liberty." But this announcement by the father of Italian Fascism caused not a little consternation in the Mexican Fascist ranks. The Mexican Fascisti hastened to declare that the movement sponsored by them stands solidly for lib-



International

GEN. PLUTARCO ELIAS CALLES
Secretary of the Interior in President
Obregon's Cabinet until Oct. 1, when
he retired to run as Socialist candidate
for President of Mexico

erty and democracy. This in itself is a great commentary on the changed sentiments of the Mexican people since the time of Diaz.

TRADITION OF DICTATORSHIP

Yet Mexico also possesses this tradition of the super-State controlled by the dictator. She inherited it from the Spanish-Roman hierarchy, which subordinated the individual to the status of the *civis romanus* (Roman citizen), enjoying privileges but neither rights nor responsibilities; and she inherited it from the autocratic pre-conquest Indian régimes. Theoretically, Mexico achieved independence in 1810; but this meant the continuance of the rule of a creole aristocracy who split into squabbling cliques utilizing the *cuartelazo* (armed band) to overthrow the group in power—a hectic record of political instability that gradually made the army the maker and breaker of Governments, as in ancient Rome. There has never been in Mexico—unless possibly we

except those of Madero and Obregón—a “democratic” election; the great leaders of the people have always been, at the outset of their careers, “revolutionary” and have held their elections after their attainment of military control in order to uphold the fiction of electoral right.

In practice Mexico has always resorted to the Mussolini tradition; in theory she has bonneted such military practices with the ribbons of republicanism and democratic suffrage. But in Mexico, as contrasted to Italy, the Praetorian Guard tradition is highly discredited. Democracy and liberal popular government are the untried things—the evolving principles. Political democracy is struggling into life, not dying as in Europe. Thus the Mexican Fascist movement is promptly robbed of any militant basis. The only source of successful military revolt in Mexico is ultimately discovered in the army itself. A civil organization must behave properly and with democratic etiquette. Hence Mexican Fascism frowns upon both revolution and militarism. Its first postulate is “to combat tyrannies.” It proposes the extension of democracy through the initiative. It demands (along with the present Government, which prints the slogan on all official stationery) the Madero principle of “effective suffrage and no re-election.” Mussolini has extended the term of military service, increased the standing army and police forces, founded a Black Guard and created a volunteer militia. The Mexican Fascisti, in contrast, call for the reduction of the army and its subordination to civil needs. But the present Government is again beforehand and can point to a steady reduction of armed forces from the very day it assumed power; and is even now undertaking the disarming of State and local militia units.

Other contrasts: The Mussolini Government has seriously curtailed the educational system, never at any time of great worth. The Mexican Fascisti demand the extension of education, the perfection and proper remuneration of the teaching force. Again, in the face of their demand, the present Government can point to the greatest educational budget in the history of Mexico and relatively one of the largest

budgets in the world. In Italy the Fascisti tolerate no party, no creed, religious or social, which does not nominally, at least, bend the neck to Fascism. In Mexico the Fascisti declare "that Mexican Fascism constitutes itself a political party to struggle energetically and constantly * * * for freedom of expression of thought, thus giving dignity to the national press; for respect for the political, religious and social creeds; the elimination of violence, and the protecting, above all, of the liberty of instruction." Yet no government, not even the Governments of Juárez and Madero, has been so tolerant as the present régime, so ready to grant amnesty, to pardon political offenders, to guarantee the freedom of the press, to insure local autonomy and State rights. Italian Fascism has been, on the whole, anti-Catholic. The members of the Catholic Party have been assaulted, driven from office. Priests have been torn from before their altars and chastised. While Mussolini has attempted to conciliate the clericals and has made overtures to the Vatican, he has been obliged to eliminate the Popularist members from his Cabinet. In Mexico many of the leaders of the new Fascist groups are Catholic priests or members of Catholic lay organizations. It is charged by anti-clericals that the Church has heavily financed the movement.

LAND OWNERS' SUPPORT

The one striking resemblance of Mexican to Italian Fascism is found in its agrarian activities. Italian Fascism gained its first real momentum in the Adriatic delta district, where, at the outset, it received the open support of the large landed proprietors. In Mexico, in some localities, the associations of landed proprietors are identical with the Fascist locals; in all localities both groups are closely affiliated and contain many of the same personalities. An attempt was made recently in the capital to have the same individual head both organizations. But again the similarity with Italian conditions is superficial. In Italy the Fascisti were destroying the co-operative colony system of the Socialists and Popularists, a system which had developed abusive and inefficient monopolies; they attempted to



Keystone

ADOLFO DE LA HUERTA
Secretary of Finance of Mexico

substitute a régime of small land holding. In Mexico, though the Fascisti admit the advisability of creating small proprietors where this can be done "legally and without injustice," they are opposed to the restoration of the *ejidos* (village commons) and wish to see perpetuated the Diaz system of large *haciendas* (ranches), with little or no modification. And here, for propaganda purposes, they have been able to seize upon the many instances of local abuses, stupidity and injustice in the carrying out of the Mexican land-distribution laws.

Just what is the real animus of this topsy-turvy Mexican edition of Mussolini's mystic Black Guard?—so topsy-turvy that it is announced that its members will adopt a white instead of a black shirt. Ex-President de la Huerta, at present Secretary of the Treasury and signer of the Lamont

agreement to settle Mexico's foreign debts, has declared "the significance of the Fascist movement in our country lies in the fact of its being the war cry of the conservative element against the Mexican people who are supporting the progress of the proletariat toward social betterment." The Confederation of Labor (the C. R. O. M.) has, with considerable alarm, called the Fascist movement "the pivot of the reactionary and Catholic forces of the country desirous of destroying organized labor and the benefits of the revolution."

Fascism in Mexico is really a dilettante movement, has, in fact, been called a "fifi" movement. It lacks a significant social program, reactionary or otherwise, distinct from that of the Government and other existing organizations. It can arouse no middle class to militancy. It lacks even a concerted backing of conservative forces. If backed by the American industrial interests it would immediately be discredited in the eyes of Mexicans. On the other hand, the beneficiaries of the defunct Diaz régime are scattered, senile, or completely destroyed—incapable of giving Fascism any effective stimulus. Ten years of revolution have witnessed the expansion of the middle class and have driven into the social fibre a wedge of newly rich who are more or less the parasitic outgrowth of the revolution, promoting yet profiting from it, but nevertheless more or less imbued with the democratic, bourgeois, emancipating ideals that have developed during

the past ten years. These parvenus are unwilling, for selfish reasons and because of honest convictions, to see a return of the earlier semi-feudal system. The Fascisti, however, are made up, in good part, of the decadent loungers of the last vanishing generation of the so-called Diaz aristocracy together with the few live personalities persisting from the epoch of Huerta. Thus, Nemesio Garcia Naranjo, one of the prime Fascist movers, was an ex-Minister of Huerta and stood by him in connection with the assassination of Madero. The Church lawyer, Señor Eleguero, who looks to Fascism to save Mexico, was a Científico of the inner clique of Diaz, was Director of the National Railways under Huerta and representative of the British Lord Cowdray oil company; and he was sent by Huerta as delegate to the Niagara conference during President Wilson's first Administration—a conference known as the "last stand of the Científicos." A Fascist leader in Tampico is said to be one of the officers in the guard conducting Madero to prison when he was shot. But these ex-Huerta elements are also scattered, and are quite without prestige.

Such, then, is the topsy-turvy, flabby character of the movement sponsored by the Mexican Fascisti, who, nevertheless, find in their futile way, sufficient spiritual kinship with the militant, idealistic followers of Mussolini to adopt an exotic name they cannot even pronounce.

FREE SPEECH SUPPRESSED IN BOLIVIA

By CLAUDE O. PIKE

Special correspondent of the Chicago Tribune

The author of the following article visited Bolivia in the Spring of the present year in the interests of his paper to obtain first-hand information on conditions in that country. He had an exceptional opportunity to study the political situation and the reactions caused by the suppression by President Saavedra of the entire Opposition press

Why President Saavedra declared martial law and raided the plants of all Opposition newspapers—Publication of article in Current History by Opposition editors the immediate cause

CONSIDERABLE discussion was aroused in Bolivian political and governmental circles by the publication in the April issue of CURRENT HISTORY of an article entitled "Three South American Despots." Among these "tyrants" President Bautista Saavedra of Bolivia was included. In the July issue of the magazine was published a defense of President Saavedra, written by Dr. C. Lopez Arce, Consul General for Bolivia in New York City. In this reply Dr. Lopez Arce asserted that Bolivia's present executive is a beneficent ruler, and generally denied the charges made in the original accusation, which, it appears, was written by a highly educated Bolivian who had been deported for political reasons.

The fact that Dr. Arce holds one of the best appointive positions in the gift of President Saavedra cannot be overlooked, and the reader may not be far wrong in concluding that Dr. Arce is partial. It is only natural that he should be loyal to his chief and endeavor to portray him in the most favorable light. It is also natural to expect that the accuser of President Saavedra, writing under the pseudonym of "Perez," should endeavor to prove his charges by selecting those acts of the man who made him an exile that will least stand the spotlight of publicity. In fairness to both writers it may be suggested that each has proved his case from his own viewpoint, and that both have undoubtedly told many truths.

One of the main issues of the controversy centres about the freedom of the press. While traveling in Bolivia in June I had excellent opportunities for studying this question. A priori, it may be said that when the military forces, acting under the orders of President Saavedra, swooped down on four Opposition papers in La Paz, closed the doors, and carted off publishers, editors, news writers and employes, throwing some in prison, banishing some to the waste desert spots of Bolivia and driving the others out of the country, the truth was apparent that freedom of the press is not tolerated in Bolivia by President Saavedra, or, at least, that it is not extended to the Opposition press.

During a period of two months of which the writer has personal knowledge (the facts can be substantiated by reliable witnesses not affiliated with the political factions of Bolivia) the following facts were definitely established:

1. A free press in Bolivia (as the term is used and understood among Anglo-Saxon nations today) is not possible all the time under the Administration of President Saavedra;

2. Uncensored and unrestricted transmission of news relating to conditions in Bolivia, and dealing with uncolored facts, cannot be made by foreign correspondents to their newspapers by cable or telegraph;

3. Foreign correspondents have been threatened with banishment from Bolivia by President Saavedra if they attempt to

send to their newspapers anything about the country that has not been approved by the censors;

4. Companies operating cable and telegraph lines, information or press agencies and similar organizations, have been forced under Government fiscalization by a decree of President Saavedra, and before they can receive authorization to operate, must submit a list of the names of their employees to the Government authorities.

I shall not attempt to enter into any argument over the policies of President Saavedra or the political struggle between the Republican and Liberal Parties of Bolivia. Only a Bolivian on the inside of the political arena can know the real facts in the case. But the last paragraph of Dr. Arce's article, telling of the "beneficent" rule of President Saavedra, is of extreme interest in the light of what has occurred in Bolivia since June 2. Dr. Arce writes as follows:

The writer also falsely stated that the printing plants and dailies of the opposing parties have been closed in order to avoid any censure of the acts of the Government. The Opposition, as also the Government newspapers, have been published at all times, and therefore it is mere slander to assert that the Government of Mr. Saavedra has suppressed the newspapers. At La Paz, for example, there are published *El Diario*, *El Liberal*, *La Ilustracion*, and so forth; in Sucre, *La Mañana*; in Tarija, *La Defensa*, and so forth.

It is possible that at the time Dr. Arce wrote his denial of the charges against President Saavedra he did not know that the so-called Opposition papers in five of the largest cities of Bolivia had been closed by the military, and that their owners, publishers and editors had been jailed or banished; that cable and telegraph companies had been put under air-tight Government censorship, and that foreign correspondents had been threatened with banishment if they sent any accounts of the event to their papers.

MUZZLING THE OPPOSITION PRESS

On June 2 martial law was declared. The writer was unable to learn if President Saavedra took the initiative in this, or conformed to the Constitution and had it passed by Congress. There would be little difference, however, as at that time,

according to information considered reliable, there were not more than five or six members of Congress who were not aligned with the Saavedra machine or not dominated by it.

As soon as the decree was issued, the military forces of Saavedra appeared simultaneously at the offices of the four Opposition dailies in La Paz and arrested the owners and publishers, the editors and news writers, and all minor employees. A few of the reporters who chanced to be on assignments escaped the coup of the Government, but on hearing the news they realized that "Saavedra had broken loose," and made all speed to the border.

The editors and publishers of the suppressed papers—*El Diario*, *La Razon*, *La Verdad* and *El Liberal*—in La Paz, the capital, were disposed of with unusual dispatch for the usual slow-moving South American Government machinery. Some of the important ones were thrown into prison after it had been ascertained that they had written some of the most stinging attacks against Saavedra. The rest were given the choice of taking a two days' trip on muleback into the interior of Bolivia or being deported. Those who had the choice preferred deportation, and were escorted to the border by the military to make certain that they would not change their minds. Banishment to the interior inflicted the greatest hardship, as a two days' mule trip from La Paz into the interior means life in a desolate mud village of the Bolivian Indians, and at that time of the year the cold on the desert is severe at night.

At the same time that the Opposition papers were closed in La Paz the military authorities invaded the newspaper office of *La Prensa* in Oruro, an important city of Bolivia, about a day's trip by rail from La Paz. The plant was closed, and its director and officials were banished from Bolivia. The other Opposition paper, *La Patria*, was also raided by the military. After its director had escaped to the Chilean border, a few leaps ahead of the soldiers of Saavedra, the remainder of that newspaper's staff continued publication of the paper, but avoided all criticism of the Administration. Opposition papers in Co-

chabamba, Potosi and Sucre were closed at the same time after similar raids.

Saavedra did not molest the two organs of his own party in La Paz—La Republica and La Reforma—both of which are generally believed to be subsidized by the Administration.

ALL NEWS TO EXTERIOR CENSORED

While the military forces were closing the Opposition papers in La Paz other Government officials were busy sealing up outlets of news to the exterior. The Superintendent of Police of La Paz personally called at the cable and telegraph offices and directed that no news should go out bearing on the acts of the Government without approval of Government officials. Managers of the telegraph and cable companies were held responsible for any "leaks." At the same time foreign correspondents were warned not to attempt to get any dispatches past the censors on penalty of being deported.

This was not the first time that President Saavedra had put a censorship on news to the exterior of Bolivia or threatened to deport newspaper men. A few months previously the Opposition members of Congress enthusiastically adopted resolutions demanding that Saavedra resign for the good of the country. That night groups of roughs, alleged to have been egged on by Government supporters, went around to the homes of the members of Congress who had dared to "resolve" against the President, smashed windows and doors, and handled some Liberal members roughly. Some shooting occurred. Saavedra's policemen, who are usually on every corner tooting their little tin whistles every quarter of an hour during the night, were strangely absent from all posts in the vicinity of the attacks. After this occurrence censorship was put on the press, and foreign correspondents attempting to send uncolored facts to their papers met with the ire of President Saavedra, and were told by him that on no account would such news be allowed to go out of the country.

For seven weeks after declaring martial law President Saavedra tried his experiment of suppressing all adverse criticism from the Bolivian Opposition press, and the muzzling worked effectively, for pub-

lishers and editors were banished and the military were in charge of the plants. No news was available to the citizens of La Paz and the other cities of Bolivia except that printed in the organs of Saavedra's party, and these devoted much of their space to extolling the benefits of the present Administration. Because martial law was in effect, there were few who dared to stand up and deny the truth of the assertions made by these Government papers, for that would have meant immediate arrest or exile.

The experiment of muzzling the local press having proved so effective, President Saavedra and his advisers entered a new field of activity, turning their attention to correspondents and agencies for transmission of news to the exterior. It appears that they had an overwhelming desire to clinch press censorship and to make complete, if possible, the isolation of Bolivia from the rest of the world, a condition from which that Republic has long suffered because of its natural geographical location, which makes it nearly a century behind some of its sister republics in education and progress.

On July 19 President Saavedra issued his famous decree declaring the fiscalization of private communication companies, including cable and telegraph companies and information and press associations—an unusual step that surprised foreigners residing in the Bolivian capital. The writer has in his possession one of the original typewritten copies of this decree, a translation of which reads as follows:

BAUTISTA SAAVEDRA

Constitutional President of the Republic

WHEREAS it is the duty of the Government to observe the seriousness, exactitude and correctness of the news transmitted to the exterior of the Republic by the information agencies and newspaper correspondents; and

WHEREAS the private communication concerns legally established in the Republic are subject to State vigilance and fiscalization for their correct working;

It is DECREED, that the information agencies established or to be established in Bolivia shall be obliged to request authorization of the Supreme Government for their installation, and present a list of their employes, without which requisite they will not be permitted to function.

The Minister of Communications is charged



Publishers Photo Service

The Island of the Moon on Lake Titicaca, Bolivia. This lake, 12,900 feet above sea level, is the most elevated and one of the largest in South America

with the execution and fulfillment of the present decree.

Government Palace of the City of La Paz,
BAUTISTA SAAVEDRA,
ADOLFO FLORES.

Confirmed: NESTOR GUILLEN,
Chief of Communications.

July 19, 1923.

Fiscalization is a favorite governmental device in most South American republics, and, generally speaking, means Government direction and checking up on banking, transportation companies and other industries which are taxed for the benefit of the Government. It is useful in increasing the tax burden of the few taxpayers, and always makes it possible to find soft berths for the "payroll brigade." But in this particular case fiscalization meant registering the name of every employee of a cable or telegraph company and of every news agency and correspondent of a foreign newspaper. It gave the Government power to dictate who should be employed with these concerns, for, unless the list required to be submitted for approval was approved, that company could not receive the required authorization.

With the issuance of this decree of fis-

calization it was generally conceded in Bolivia that the principle of a free press and unrestricted dissemination of news by cable and telegraph was abolished.

MAGAZINE ARTICLE RAISES STORM

As to the causes for President Saavedra closing Opposition papers and putting the closest possible censorship on news going out from Bolivia, there were offered several reasons, among them that the Opposition press was at times hitting close to the truth. The writer was told by two of the deported newspaper men whom he met in Peru and Chile that what excited the wrath of Saavedra was their reprinting of the article "Three South American Despots" from CURRENT HISTORY. Naturally, the Opposition press insisted that the contents of the article were true.

At the date of this writing, Aug. 3, the Opposition press is still muzzled, and the strictest censorship is in force on cable and telegraph lines, as well as on all messages of foreign correspondents. On leaving Bolivia the writer encountered the banished newspaper editors and writers in Arequipa, Peru, and at various seaports along the

barren Chilean coast. They all asserted that they had been unable to receive any mail from their families or any information about their personal affairs, which they were not permitted to adjust before being deported.

In the Peruvian city of Arequipa, a day's rail journey from La Paz, are gathered some of the banished newspaper men from La Paz, while in Arica, Tacna, Iquique and Antofagasta, the nearest Chilean cities, will be found others, waiting until the ban is lifted and they can return home. They are not alone in their banishment, for in each of these cities are other political exiles who have tasted Saavedra's power.

The practice of exiling political adversaries is common in most South American republics, except possibly Argentina, Uruguay and Chile, which are more advanced in toleration of free speech and free press than their sister republics. In some of the other republics it might be classified as one of the political institutions of those countries, and deportation usually follows a political uprising or revolution. The leaders of the defeated party usually depart as quietly and quickly as possible, a custom which they have found favorable to longevity.

"INS" VERSUS "OUTS"

Though Bolivian exiles are bitter against the party leaders of the Opposition, and miss no opportunity to revile them, the majority take their banishment philosophically and with a certain degree of optimism, considering themselves temporarily victims of the wheel of political fortune. They are always expecting that their party will be successful at the next election, or will be able to effect a coup d'état which will reinstate them in power and place them in a position to retaliate on their enemies. When this occurs they find it convenient to forget the evils of deportation or the fact, which they themselves previously insisted on, that certain ethical principles are involved in the muzzling of the Opposition press and censoring the lines of communications.

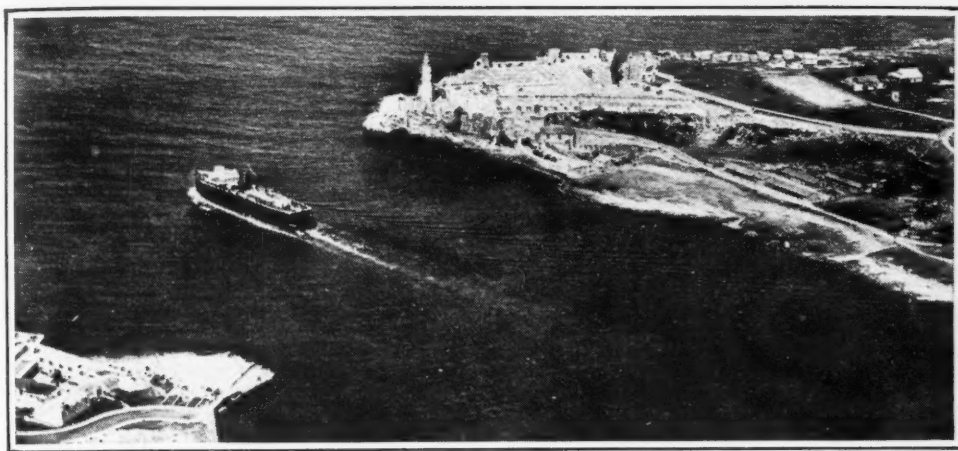
Freedom of the press has never been looked on favorably by the Latin political

leader. That this is true is shown by the recent action of Premier Mussolini of Italy in establishing a quasi-judicial censorship of the Italian press. The same idea prevails among many Latin-American political leaders.

Calm consideration of all the so-called revolutions from which most South and Central American republics have suffered shows that these upheavals have really been struggles between political "ins" and "outs." Of course, the contending parties always proclaimed that certain principles were involved in the struggle, in the hope of receiving the sympathy of outsiders and getting financial aid and recruits from the rank and file of their countrymen, but when these "principles" and causes are analyzed coldly they almost invariably prove that the "outs" are trying to put the "ins" out.

According to 1918 estimates Bolivia has a white population of about 250,000, the rest of the 2,820,000 population being Indians and "cholos," or mixed breeds. Illiteracy is high in Bolivia, and education is confined mostly to the whites, although from the "cholo" class come some able leaders, equal in intellectual development to some of the best of the white men of Bolivia. Among these "cholos" is President Saavedra himself, who is admitted, even by his enemies, to be one of Bolivia's best lawyers. He is the author of several recognized law books. At one time he was President of the National University. He has also been engaged in newspaper publishing. Furthermore, he has spent considerable time studying and traveling in Europe. For these reasons his extraordinary course in muzzling free speech and free press is inexplicable to foreigners in La Paz who have had more or less intimate business relations with him.

The only reason they can advance is that he and his party are "ins," and that they will take no chance on being turned out by the Opposition if they can help it. This may be good reasoning from a political party standpoint, but muzzling the press in the past has never been beneficial to any nation or people, and is considered among enlightened nations and peoples as a backward step in the march of progress.



Official Photograph, U. S. Navy

Entrance to Havana Harbor, Cuba, showing Moro Castle

THE UNITED STATES PARAMOUNT IN THE CARIBBEAN

By ELBRIDGE COLBY, Ph. D.

Captain, Infantry, United States Army, formerly Assistant
Intelligence Officer, Panama Canal Department, United States
Army

*Changes that have taken place in our foreign policy in the Caribbean
in recent years—Strategic and commercial aspects of intervention in
Central American republics—European rivalry no longer to be feared*

THE year 1916 may be taken as marking the end of a definite period of American foreign policy toward the Caribbean and the beginning of a new. It was in that year that the "military occupation" of Santo Domingo was announced. That same year first saw the Panama Canal in full operation. Then the Haitian treaty of 1915 was actually ratified and put into effect. During 1916 the United States ratified the Nicaraguan treaty of 1913, and refused to pay heed to the protests of Salvador, Costa Rica, Honduras and Colombia and to the decision—adverse to the treaty—rendered by the Central American Court of Justice. During 1916 proceedings for the purchase of the Virgin Islands were brought to a head, though formally closed early in the following year. Except for minor instances involving territory, and

curious disputes with Panama—which belong in a separate category—we have since then acquired no land nor have we used armed force involving internal interference. It will further be noted that the beginning of 1917 marked the withdrawal of American troops from Mexico, and the major portion of them even from the Mexican border.

After 1916 came the war. The Caribbean was virtually empty of ships of war save those of the United States. The Panama Canal was open. Incredible tonnage of nitrates from Chile, constant shipments of lumber from the harbors of San Francisco and Puget Sound, frequent transports filled with troops from Australia and New Zealand passed through the Isthmus. "The heretofore practically landlocked and internationally unimpor-

tant Caribbean republics," it has been said, "have acquired a strategic importance which has brought them into international prominence." St. Thomas, "one of the finest protected harbors in the West Indies and admirably suited for a naval base," known as "the Gibraltar of the West Indies," was acquired at this time, "particularly for strategic purposes," as is generally recognized. While American troops in France were helping to push the frontiers of freedom eastward across Europe, the United States Navy was extending its sway southward over the waters of the blue Caribbean. The heavy fortifications established at the Panama Canal, the exclusive privileges gained over the Nicaraguan route, and the possession of Guantanamo were all taken advantage of to insure American strategic control of these seas.

That was the question, and that will remain the major interest for our Government—the control of the approaches to the canal. It is well illustrated by the case of the Isle of Pines. When we wrenched Cuba from the Spanish yoke in 1898, we mentioned that island by name as the site of our possible future naval base, and so provided in our treaty with Cuba in 1903. We did not then think of the Canal. We thought of guarding the entrances to the Gulf of Mexico. With the Isle of Pines properly developed, and Key West properly maintained, we would control all traffic outlets of the Gulf. But the Canal brought the Caribbean into prominence. We took Guantanamo instead. Our Supreme Court has held that we have now no ownership over the Isle of Pines, and in December, 1922, a treaty was even reported to the Senate by which we would relinquish all claims to the island. We think now of guarding all entrances to the Caribbean.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE UNITED STATES

The war showed how the nations stood. Costa Rica, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, and Nicaragua declared war on Germany. Cuba took a similar step, "in conformity with the spirit of pacts and obligations, rather more moral than legal," binding that country to the United States. Panama did likewise since her "interests and ex-

istence are indissolubly linked with the United States." Even Salvador, announcing neutrality, proclaimed its intention to assist the United States and spoke of "the solidarity which binds it to the great Republic of the North." They followed the lead of those who protested they were fighting "to make the world safe for democracy."

All the wartime talk about the "frontiers of freedom" and "the rights of small nations" and "self-determination" and "making the world safe for democracy"—however effective or ineffective in Central Europe in convincing people that we had "no quarrel with the German people"—was accepted as the true political faith in tropical waters. These people never thought of looking upon it—as less philosophical and more practical nations might have done—as mere belligerent propaganda enunciated simply "for the period of the emergency." Some of their liberal elements have continued to believe in the high moral qualities of our foreign policy. Cuban liberals in 1916 suggested that the United States supervise and insure fair elections. A Venezuelan revolutionary representative in 1919 asked for the American Minister, the American Army and the American Navy for the same purpose. In March of the same year, after constitutional guarantees had been suspended and martial law declared in Cuba, the request was repeated. In 1920 and in 1921 the deposed President of Guatemala appealed to President Wilson to secure his release from prison. In 1922, after the Government of Panama had amended the Constitution, the Opposition asked Secretary Hughes to pass upon the propriety of the alteration.

At times the effects of the self-determination talk in the Caribbean regions have become embarrassing. The Virgin Islanders in 1922 are heard demanding citizenship, and a civil instead of a naval Government. The Porto Ricans, who only became citizens of the United States by the Jones bill in 1916, and to whom American constitutional guarantees are not yet fully extended, have been asking for a more autonomous Government, local appointment of executive officers and the privilege of electing a Senate to replace the

Council; and have even begun to talk of independence. Then there are the Haitians and the Dominicans; the Haitians who protest the abuse of the treaty of 1915, the dissolution of their Chamber, and the omission of elections; and the Dominicans who did not for almost the whole five years under discussion see in their country "the semblance of a legislative body and who were being, by American official actions, welded more and more strongly together in their desire for independence." Liberal political opinion in the United States took up the cry, and the whole question of Haiti and Santo Domingo received an official and public airing, which did not, however, go into the policies of the State Department, but merely passed upon the validity of Navy Department acts in the light of orders received from higher executives.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S DECLARATION

It is indeed on purely idealistic principles that the State Department has proclaimed its policy ever since the famous declaration of President Wilson that he would not recognize any ruler who offered for the diplomatic clasp a hand stained with the blood of revolution. "So

long as the power of recognition rests with me," he said, in accepting renomination in 1916, "the Government of the United States will refuse to extend the hand of welcome to any one who obtains power in a sister republic by treachery and violence." This raises a difficult question, and a frequent one, for it is well known that Latin-American States are subject to revolutions. Tinoco in Costa Rica secured the Presidential chair by revolution in 1917 and lost it by the same means in 1919. Fighting in Honduras in July, August and September, 1919, resulted in the resignation and flight of President Bertrand. Cabrera of Guatemala was overthrown after a ten-day revolution in April, 1920, following nearly two years of martial law. General Penalosa finally started unsuccessful revolutionary warfare in the western part of Venezuela in 1920. General Membreno headed two revolutions in Honduras in 1920, which came to naught. There was a revolt in Guatemala in 1922, one in Salvador in February and another in May, one in Nicaragua in April and May, and also in August. On Aug. 20, 1922, Nicaragua, Honduras and Salvador renewed an old treaty of 1907 by which rebel gatherings on frontiers against neigh-



Official Photograph, U. S. Navy

The naval base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, leased to the United States in 1903 for \$2,000 annually

boring States were to be certain of speedy disarming.

In the midst of all this confusion of revolutions, what was the United States to do? Let us see what has happened, leaving out of the picture the hasty recognition of the Leguia Government in Peru, established by a palace revolution in 1919. Cabrera of Guatemala had been very friendly toward the United States. He was overthrown on April 17, 1920, and on June 24 the provisional appointee in his place, Dr. Carlos Herrera, was recognized. In 1922 Herrera in his turn was overthrown, and General Orellano, who accomplished the fall, was recognized on April 15. At the capital of Costa Rica Tinoco engineered a successful revolt in 1917, but remained unrecognized by the United States, possibly because a big fruit company had backed him too openly, possibly because of "oil interests" behind him, even though his nation declared war on Germany, even though his Congress voted confidence in him and resolutions of regret at our failure to grant recognition. From January to August, 1919, he was in danger from an armed rebellion, and finally fled to Europe via Jamaica and New York, and it was not until late in 1920 that the Government established after him was recognized and its representative received in Washington. In the meanwhile, non-recognition was construed as interference, and the local authorities even broke up a war celebration in front of the American legation at San Jose to show their feeling. It has been felt by some that the rapid recognition of the Guatemalan rulers—so unlike these Costa Rican delays—was due to State Department policy, to various views of the progress of Central American federation and other matters.

POLICY OF ARMED INTERVENTION

This sort of intervention, however, is almost theoretical rather than actual, diplomatic rather than forcible. It is a question of policy rather than of right. Armed intervention is a different matter, that is, intervention which actually, uses or threatens to use arms. Again, the purpose of the intervention and the extent of the interference are often a far more serious

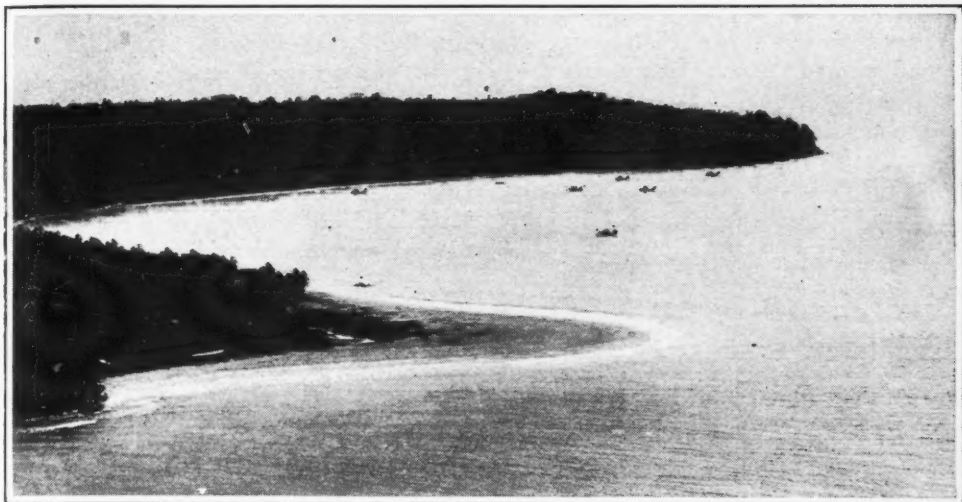
matter than the mere political effects of recognition.

There was Mexico. Our occupation of Vera Cruz in 1914 was considered by that Government "as an initiation of war." After some preliminary and misunderstood "conversations" we sent two armed expeditions into Mexico in 1916, one from Columbus and one from Glenn Springs. Small wonder that "the President of Mexico praised officially in the highest terms the attitude of Belgium in her gallant resolution to resist to the utmost the invasion of the German armies." Then, in 1919, we actually sent troops across the frontier at El Paso and drove away revolutionary troops operating against Juarez because they were within dangerous rifle range of the border.

Then there is Cuba. There in 1917 a revolutionary government was "given scant courtesy." Secretary Lansing announced that they would not be recognized, and American marines were landed at Santiago "to aid in the preservation of order." General Crowder went there in 1919, formulated a new electoral code and had the Cuban Congress pass it, as well as a census law and restrictions on the pardoning power of the Executive. He is still there, and still objected to on many hands.

Then there are the marines in Nicaragua, called a "legation guard" it is true, but exceptionally large for such purposes and large enough in number to say a word now and then when Government and Opposition resort to weapons instead of words. They got into a little shooting affray, fighting with Nicaraguan police, and though in March, 1922, a number of them were sentenced to eight, ten and twelve years by an American court-martial, there would not have been any shooting if they had not been there—no American armed forces to violate the peace of our friendly neighbor.

Then there is the Dominican Republic, "under the protectorate of the United States in charge of a military Administration," so placed by our interfering in a local revolt, announcing our military occupation, and only established by armed conflicts against local resistance. A far different matter this than the supervision



Official Photograph, U. S. Navy

Anchorage for hydroplanes, Great Corn Island, off the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua. The island was acquired as a naval base by the United States under the treaty with Nicaragua ratified in 1916

of customs collection as contemplated in the treaty of 1907, or the mere placing of a warship near the coast of Honduras "to protect American property," if necessary.

Then there are the marines in Haiti, who get themselves exonerated by a Senate Committee, and occasionally decorated with the Congressional Medal of Honor for killing a bandit chief or so. Of them there is little to be said. The treaty of 1915 established them there practically in charge of the government, sanitation, customs taxes, engineering, roads, and so forth. If the United States Government has shown no inclination to withdraw them of late, we at least can say that our policy there has been unchanged, merely more or less fixed by practice.

These are all instances of actual intervention, under treaty warranty or otherwise, and they all took place from the American desire to control and to continue to control, for strategic purposes largely, but also I suppose in what might be termed "the general interests of law and order." Far different this from the Wilsonian denial of our interest and right in internal affairs.

THE USE OF POLICE POWER

Not only in internal affairs, but in the international relations of these States with

one another have we interfered, again exercising our "police power" and again probably in order to prevent disturbances. First we have had something to say regarding boundaries. By the Thompson-Urrutia treaty with Colombia, ratified in 1921, the boundary line was settled between Colombia and Panama. In 1918, when Nicaragua and Honduras got into a dispute over a boundary not satisfactorily decided by the King of Spain, and began mobilizing troops on the frontier, we suggested their withdrawal, and asked that the question be submitted to us for adjustment. During the same year we suggested that Guatemala and Honduras settle a similar question "by agreement." And then there was the Coto dispute, in which we peremptorily stopped Costa Rica from attacking Panamanian towns, just as we peremptorily ordered Panama not to go to war, and quickly used American soldiers in Panama City to protect President Porras from a popular demonstration.

However, there is still another territorial matter that throws even greater light upon the whole of our policy and its reasons. It has to do with islands. By the Nicaraguan treaty of 1913, ratified in 1916, we secured from Nicaragua a ninety-nine-year lease to the Great Corn and

Little Corn Islands. Colombia protested that they belonged to her. But to no avail. We had secured them by treaty, and they would be very valuable for strategic purposes to any one who wished to control the Nicaraguan canal route. In 1922 we got into a dispute with Honduras over the ownership of the Swan Islands, 140 miles off the coast, and their occupation by the United Fruit Company; and there we were protecting American commercial interests. In 1919, a ship arriving at Colon-Cristobal harbor reported "out" the light on Roncador Cay; a boat sent to fix it was warned away by Colombian officials; so President Wilson proclaimed the cay United States property under an old statute of 1856, the light was repaired, and Caribbean commerce passes by in safety now where once the U. S. S. Kearsarge so disastrously ran aground.

These three islands instance our three interests in the region—strategic, commercial and police—all somewhat inter-related. And we could say the same of the Coto dispute. The United States did not wish a war between Costa Rica and Panama for three reasons: law and order in the neighborhood were desirable; the United Fruit Company had large and valuable investments near the frontier where the Costa Rican troops were advancing; and in case the war should end to the disadvantage of Panama the status of the Isthmus and the Canal Zone might be affected.

Let us not minimize the financial interests we now have in the Caribbean. In money alone the figures are astounding, even without securing the data for oil investments and fruit developments. A region that has a commercial business amounting to \$2,000,000,000 annually is important. Fruit forms a large part of that; and the Americans are the greatest fruit eaters in the civilized world. European finance is feeble and weak from the strain of war and reconstruction, not to speak of preparation. Capital must flow in from somewhere. The war may have turned the military minds of Europe away from the Caribbean. It has also turned the European money away. American money replaces it.

"In the northern countries of Latin America," it is said, "such as Mexico, Cuba, Central America and Santo Domingo, American money has predominated for some time." For instance, in 1918, Cuba secured a loan of fifty millions from the United States Government. In 1920 Nicaragua borrowed nine millions in New York for a transcontinental railway. In 1922 Guatemala secured fifteen millions in New York, Cuba came for fifty millions; Colombia arranged for eighty millions and Haiti for sixteen millions, though this last was mostly arranged so as to retire a French franc loan at a 60 per cent. saving. This borrowing affects diplomacy, here as elsewhere. Nicaragua is stated to have paid up all her current obligations "as a result of diplomatic aid extended by the United States." The Haitians chiefly object to their existing treaty because it permits uses of funds and pecuniary resources in ways other than they desire. The Venezuela episode and Olney's famous dictum about the fiat of the United States being law hereabout all arose from a financial tangle. Where an influential man invests his money, or big bankers lend it, they will see that the State Department attends to their interests.

MODERN DIPLOMACY

All the more is this true now, and all the easier, since the State Department has made it plain that Washington wishes to scrutinize and "approve" of foreign loans before they are consummated. There is another illuminating instance in the matter of the Colombian treaty, drawn up in 1914, and ratified in 1921. After the first turmoil in the Senate over the apology clause had passed, the treaty was presented again and discussion revived in 1920. About this time President Suarez issued some decrees nationalizing oil supplies. North American oil interests objected; the Colombian Supreme Court declared the measures unconstitutional; and the Senate Committee in Washington promptly re-reported the Treaty to the Senate. You may scoff at this and call it dollar diplomacy or what you will, but it is modern diplomacy just the same.

Nevertheless, there seems to be one

exception to this rule: and that exception is geographically at the centre of the whole situation. Practically every difficulty with the Republic of Panama during the last five years has been on other topics. The line of traffic at the Isthmus is from sea to sea. Little or nothing, proportionately, goes up or down the coast. The enterprise is a Government enterprise; and proportionately few Americans are financially interested in the Republic of Panama itself. The Canal Zone is a transit route, not the point of entry to an exploited hinterland. Except for the possible influence of the United Fruit investments around Almirante and Bocas del Toro and that region, in the matter of the Coto dispute, trade and finance have scarcely been of great import in our negotiations with Panama.

A DIFFERENT POLICY

We own Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands. We have definite treaty arrangements with Haiti and Panama and Nicaragua, which speak plainly of their "independence" and "sovereignty." But in the Dominican Republic we had none of these at all comparable to the extent to which we had exercised our military and naval authority, with commissioned sailors in Government offices ashore and marines riding on patrol through the country. Our jurisdiction rested only on the proclamation of military occupation. Its sanction was, in the last analysis, that of force. The Dominicans never agreed to it, and have protested against it. During 1922 definite steps were taken to effect our withdrawal. "The republic was still to be kept in a condition of tutelage." Acts of the military establishment were to be validated. Finances were made secure. Customs were still to be collected and applied by an American "general receiver" until the outstanding bonds were retired. Elections and other paraphernalia of self-government were to be resumed. This plan was approved by H. G. Knowles, counsel for the deposed Constitutional Government, and by the Haiti-Santo Domingo Independence Society. The provisional President was duly elected; he took office; the

former Military Governor sailed for the United States, leaving behind 1,500 marines as a central police reserve. The Government issued the text of the agreement as a formal decree, to be valid at least until the United States Senate should ratify the treaty in due course. The Dominican episode was closed, at least in its most serious aspects. This course was taken principally on account of pressure brought at home. Liberal-minded individuals, liberal journals and free-spoken opponents of the Administration practically compelled it. This in spite of the undoubted commercial value of the territory and of the undoubted value of a prospective naval base in the territory, though the value of that has been greatly diminished by the acquisition of St. Thomas Island near by.

Our interests in the Caribbean are as great as ever. They depend upon the same two things as in 1916: the proximity of the region and the strategic importance of the Panama Canal. The lands which border the Caribbean are close and convenient for trade, and our trade relations with them are the most advantageous to both; that is, they are reciprocal. For raw materials which we need and they have we can furnish manufactured goods which they need and we have. These lands are near for our trade. They must have law and order if our trade is to be profitable. If they will not do so themselves, we will keep them in order. That policy is written through the last five years of our Caribbean history as clearly as through any other period. Not that we shall fear so much for our trade as for our safety. We invaded the precincts of Spain to suppress pirates on Amelia Island in 1817 and marauding Indians in Florida in 1819. Olney said in 1896 that we could not stand for such a state of affairs in Cuba "almost in sight of our shores." Roosevelt said in 1902: "Cuba lies at our doors and whatever affects her for good or ill affects us also." Wilson in 1916 was only repeating the idea of Seward in 1861 when he said that our interest in Mexico was heightened because we were her neighbor. The Magdalena Bay resolution of 1912 was a

formal Senatorial pronouncement on the subject. Lansing announced in 1917 that "territorial propinquity creates special relations between countries."

It is not possible that the World War, having removed the menace of foreign aggression in the New World, has also removed the necessity for supervision by the United States. We are the only first-class power bordering on the area under discussion. We are the only nation near enough and strong enough and disinterested enough to do the work of policemen. In 1907 we were even asked to land marines in the British possession of Jamaica and take control at the time of the earthquake. The League of Nations defers to us, in matters relating to the Western Hemisphere, as it did when Bolivia and Peru submitted to its Assembly the Tacna-Arica problem, and when Panama sought its support in the Coto dispute. There are even signs of Latin-American abandonment of the League, trusting less in the strength of Article X. than in the oft-distorted and frequently misapplied Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine, like the canal, is a defensive measure. Any country that flanks the canal, has a sea-

board on the Caribbean, or is of strategic importance in relation to the Panama Canal, may be certain that the Monroe Doctrine will be applied in its behalf if ever the occasion arose.

We have not only made preparation at Guantanamo and St. Thomas and Colon to protect the countries washed by the waters of the Caribbean; we have made friends with Colombia again—and that without apologizing for 1903; we have again attempted to stabilize and strengthen Central America by building up the Federation once more and by proposing the limitation of armaments; we have gained friends by receding somewhat from our extreme position in Santo Domingo and have penetrated with money and goods into the region—and so with influence—to such an extent that we have almost entirely precluded European rivalry in this area for some time to come. Considering what the Europeans think of Woodrow Wilson and how little eager they are to follow his doctrines, and considering what the Latin Americans think of them and how ready they are to see them in operation, we have only to practice the precept more thoroughly than did the teacher.



PHILIPPINE PROGRESS UNDER AMERICAN RULE

By CECILIA W. FARWELL

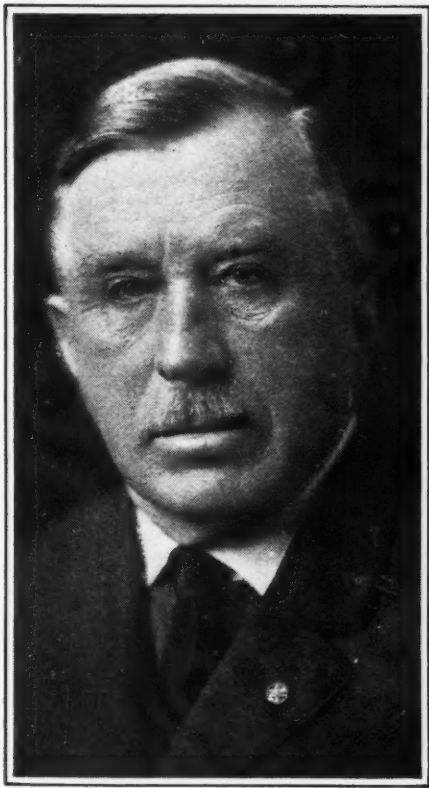
For ten years a resident in the Philippine Islands

Improved conditions since the passing of the Spanish regime—How the Filipinos gained control of the Government during the war

MANUEL QUEZON has again stated that he would rather have the Philippines ruled like hell by Filipinos than like heaven by Americans. Sergio Osmeña is more definite. He threatens revolution and a reversion to the days of 1896. Manuel Roxas, the present speaker of the Assembly, says that the usurpation of authority on the part of General Wood exceeds the autocratic rule of Spain. New significance attaches to this attitude in view of the victory of Ramon Fernandez, the Coalitionist candidate for the Philippine Senate at the special election early in October, when he was returned on a pro-independence and anti-Wood platform.

To those interested in knowing something of the Spanish régime, and thereby better understanding the present situation, nothing is more informative than Rizal's book, "Noli Me Tangere," which has been translated into English. His story has to do with the very class from which come the present disturbing elements—the *mestizos*—who, with the blood of the conquerors in their veins, lived in a state of insecurity in which no man's house or life was safe and no man dared call his wife or his daughter his own, the loss of his property, perhaps of his life, being the certain result of any effort to avenge his family honor. Of liberty there was none. Rizal was shot in 1896 for offenses against the sovereign power of Spain which were trivial in comparison with those which present leaders have committed over and over against the sovereign power of the United States. As for the common people, exploited by *mestizos* and Spaniards alike, kept in hopeless ignorance and superstition or living in such isolation that prog-

ress was impossible, they were divided against themselves—eight definite tribal divisions well marked among the so-called Christian tribes with innumerable subdivisions—and were often unable to understand the language of folk within twenty-five miles of their own district. In addition to them there were more than a million pagans and Mohammedans practically

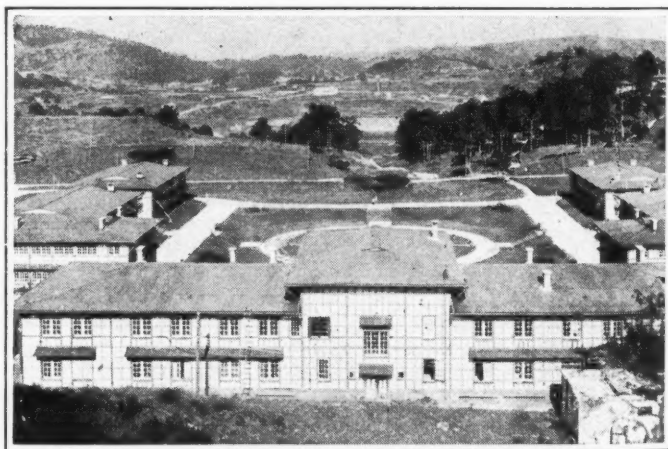


MAJOR GENERAL LEONARD WOOD
Appointed Governor General of the
Philippine Islands, February, 1921

untouched by Spanish influence. These are matters of history, of which the present-day Filipino does not like to be reminded.

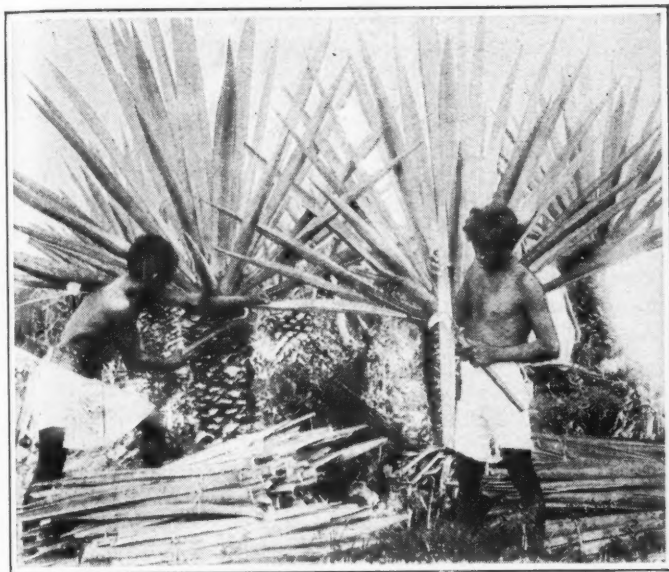
When America took possession of the Philippines twenty-five years ago the people were totally without place or position—the underlings and slaves of their conquerors. America raised them to the rights of manhood and set them on the path of self-government. In a country entirely without educational facilities, save those designed for the sons of the conquerors, there are today a million children of the common people in public schools, where they are being taught a common language. Spain had held the Philippines for exploitation only and her selection of rulers had been of those who would bring “results” in the only terms for which absentee investors with interests in the rich sugar and tobacco lands cared, namely, money. America, on the other hand, has worked for civilization. Foul cities have been made clean. Lepers who stalked abroad without even the old warning of Palestine have been segregated and taken to the Island of Culion, where today is one of the model leper colonies of the world. Cholera, hookworm, smallpox, beri-beri, dengue have been mastered and controlled, if not obliterated. Slavery has been eradicated. Pathless tropical jungles have been opened up. Hills and mountains which for centuries had been the strongholds of robbers and head-hunters have been connected with civilization by means of trails, roadways and telephones and made safe for habitation. Nor does this take into account the work done among the really savage and wild tribes. For example, 30,000 head-hunting Igorotes have been brought to live in an orderly and law-abiding fashion, taught to like athletics instead of head-hunting, and this without war and conquest and without oppression.

These things have been done at the cost of precious American lives, and, far less important, but to be taken into consideration, American dollars. While following the policy of making the islands self-supporting, and therefore throwing financial responsibility for internal improvements upon the Insular Government, we have provided the security necessary for the work and the help necessary to carry it out. Senator King estimates that the islands have cost us \$700,000,000—a low figure—representing an investment on which there has not been, nor will there ever be, one dollar of return. Following a system of tutelage having for its purpose the progress of the people through the logical process of evolution and the development of an educated public opinion, the Commission Government, which took the place at the earliest possible moment of the military occupation, was abolished in 1916 by act of Congress known as the Jones law, or Organization act, completing the organization of the Legislature by the creation of the upper house, the functions of the Commissioners to be taken over by department secretaries, to be appointed by the Governor General, with the consent of the Philippine Senate. The Organization act further Filipinized the Government by opening all offices to the native people except the positions of Insular Auditor, Governor General and Vice Governor General, who is also the Secretary of Public Instruction.



Publishers Photo Service

The Government centre at Baguio, the Summer capital of the Philippines



Publishers Photo Service

Natives of the Philippine Islands cutting sisal leaves

Following the American system of checks and balances, while greatly extending Filipino autonomy, the Jones act extended the authority of the Governor General, under that law, as before, to be appointed by the President of the United States. Final jurisdiction over the department secretaries and absolute veto over laws passed by the Legislature, subject only to revocation by the President of the United States, as well as executive authority, were made a part of his office. Congress also retained the right to annul any bill passed by the Legislature within six months.

It is in the things that happened in the Philippines during the war of which we are now seeing results. The American Governor General, the representative of the sovereign authority of the United States, was later to say to the Filipinos: "In all but race I am a Filipino." He spoke truly. The *mestizo* politicians, in the saddle at last, controlled not only the Insular Government but the representative of the sovereign power. And that Government did many strange things. It went into business, into speculation, using Government funds to buy various commodities the prices of which had been inflated by war needs; it acquired a railroad, took over a bank, established sugar centrals, became, in short,

what one of its own writers proudly called "the most paternalistic Government under the American flag." Exactly what became of the gold reserve fund, on which the stability of the Conant peso rested, no one seems exactly to know. It was lost in the shuffle, and the sudden realization that the peso, behind which the Government of the United States was morally bound to stand, was going the way of the German mark brought the attention of Congress to the situation. The report of the Wood-Forbes mission in 1920 made all this quite plain.

But this was as nothing compared to the ventures in legislation. Former Governor General Harrison gives Sergio Osmeña credit for the novel scheme of reorganization of the Cabinet into a Council of State by the inclusion of the two political leaders in their capacities of Speaker of the House and President of the Senate. Having established this extra-legal body by an Executive order, Mr. Harrison accepted a seat in it as its President rather than as the representative of the sovereign power of America. Mr. Osmeña became its Vice President. The Council of State took precedence over the Government established by the Organization act, the Cabinet, as such, practically ceasing to exist. The Vice Governor General, an American, having a seat in the Council as Secretary of Public Instruction, came fourth in official rank. It was a situation which only a Governor General "in all but race a Filipino" would have accepted, since it sacrificed the dignity of the United States Government and its official representatives. Thus entrenched in power, the Council of State proceeded to establish what is known as the Administrative Code, through bills originating in its deliberations and obediently rubber-stamped by the Legislature, which took away certain powers spe-

cifically centred by the Organization act in the Governor General and assigned them to other branches of the Government. Mr. Harrison obediently affixed his signature to these bills, becoming, of his own will, that which Governor General Wood, having regard for his oath of office, has refused to become—a “figurehead,” to quote Mr. Quezon. Under this new order the Department Secretaries are no longer responsible to the Governor General, as provided by act of Congress, but to the Legislature of the Philippines, virtually, indeed, to the Council of State, which also took over the nomination of these officials so that they were to be dependent for their position upon the Council, instead of the Governor General, to whom their selection had been definitely assigned by Congress.

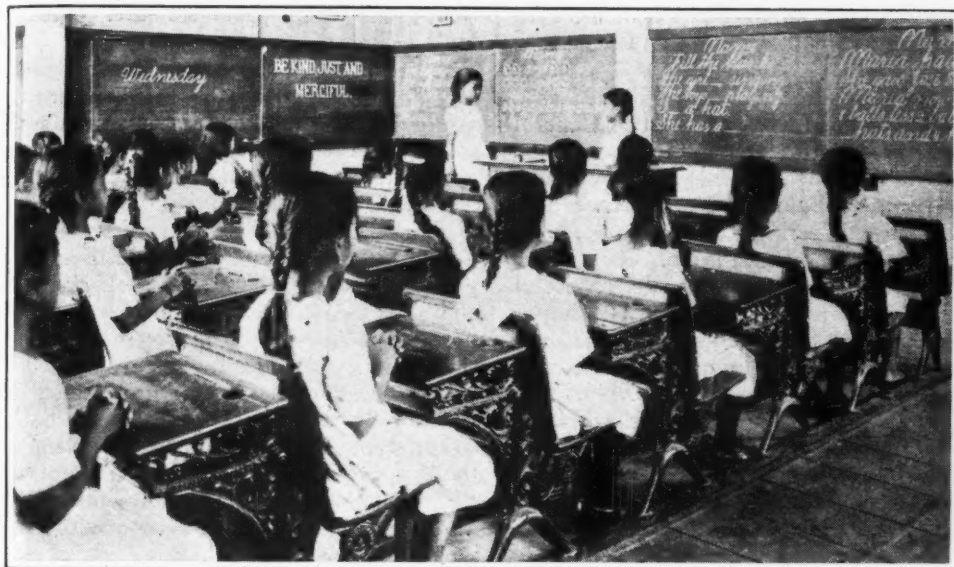
Upholders of the code—and it is to this that we must look for our explanation of the present challenge of authority, which Filipinos were quick to assert was not a challenge of General Wood personally—tell us that it is “an interpretation of the spirit of the Jones law.” In this defense is an assumption which the opponents do not grant—that the Congress of the United States was unable clearly to express its in-

tention and purpose, and that it said one thing while meaning quite another. They also declare that this system of government, characterized by them as “more like the English than the American system,” is more satisfactory to them than the American, thereby, in their own minds at least, justifying their position in having superseded the American system. But, strange to say, English students of Colonial government have not been sparing in their criticism of our work in the Philippines just because we have given too much power to the native people and “upset the whole Orient.” Nothing in the history of Great Britain’s handling of backward peoples leads us to believe that the Filipinos would have had as much autonomy under British administration.

The issue in the Philippines has now resolved itself into a contest between the authority of the Jones law, passed by the Congress of the United States (it is to the Jones law that the Filipinos refer when they talk of their “Constitution”), and the Administrative Code, passed by the Philippine Legislature, annulling or amending, or, to use their own term, “interpreting the spirit” of the act of Congress. The



Filipino girls learning the art of lace making under an American teacher



Publishers Photo Service

A first-grade class in English in one of the public schools of Manila

particular incident which was recently made the excuse for this test of authority was in itself trivial. An American official of the Secret Service Department of the Manila police force assigned to the task of investigating gambling was accused (it is said by the gamblers themselves) of graft. Pending trial, he was relieved from duty. Tried and acquitted, he was again charged, and again acquitted, each time by a Filipino Judge, which indicates that the matter is not a race question. Despite his double acquittal, the official's resignation was asked for by the Secretary of the Interior, who has jurisdiction over the city of Manila. General Wood, on being appealed to, and after careful investigation, reinstated the secret service officer. A clause in the Administrative Code, to quote from the Filipino point of view, "invests powers of the character usurped by the Governor General in relation to members of the Police Department in the Secretary of the Interior, 'whose determination of the matter shall be final.'" The action of the Governor General was followed by the resignation of the Council of State in a body, without any attempt at adjustment of the matter. General Wood accepted their resignations in terms which he afterward said might well have been more forcible.

A part of the complaint against General Wood is that he has steadily, since the beginning of his administration, sought to "get the Government out of business" and to open to the legitimate competition of business and industry the various fields which the "paternalistic Government" is controlling. Paternalism has no place in a republic, where it is regarded as a sign of weakness, and the present condition in the islands is, in the belief of business experts, checking development along these lines.

The story of the Philippine National Bank is particularly important for an understanding of the situation. The Government of the United States is morally responsible for the bonded indebtedness of the Philippine Government, practically all of the bonds of which are held in America. To cover the obliterated gold reserve fund Congress was obliged to extend the bonded indebtedness. The Wood-Forbes investigation showed gross mismanagement of the bank, resulting, according to the critics, from the Government going into business. To prevent a repetition of the failure, which brought the Government so near to disaster, it is held that the bank should be closed and its functions taken over by private institutions. All this "paternalism"

is a part of the administration of the Filipino oligarchy known as the Council of State.

The recent election result, claimed as a victory for the forces opposed to General Wood, is not quite the indication of the spirit of the people that it may seem. Manila was a Spanish city for three hundred years. Garrison, as well as official and social life, centred there. It was also the centre of the Chinese trade. Most of the native people are mestizos. Owing to the customs of the Spanish days the mestizos did not in time lose the native strain, but always bred back to the Malay. This has given a peculiar people, sharing the aspirations and the ideals of the Spanish conquerors, yet with the temperament and characteristics of the native race. Relatively few of the Tagalogs, the people living in and around Manila and making up almost the entire population of the district in which this election was held, are without some Spanish or Chinese blood. It may be safely said that if these people were typical of the whole of the inhabitants of the islands we would feel less responsibility toward them. They constitute a relatively small proportion of the population, though practically all the leaders and agitators belong to this group. Mr.

Quezon is Malay-Spanish, Mr. Osmeña Malay-Chinese.

It is because there has always been every indication that the Filipino people would be exploited by this "upper class," as they are pleased to regard themselves, and as, indeed, in some measure they are, that the United States has felt it necessary to remain in the islands. To transfer the Government of more than ten million people to an upper-class group of sixty to eighty thousand would be a betrayal of our promise to the people to set them in the way of self-government.

The question now to be determined is, whether or not the Filipinos are a backward people, wards of the Government of the United States because they have not yet as a people attained to that self-understanding and self-control necessary to self-government.

The unrest in the Philippines is a part of the spirit that is abroad in the whole Oriental world. It is not alone a revolt against the white man's rule. The Oriental has yielded to power before, and accepts it as the fate of war. It is deeper than that. It is a revolt against the white man's civilization—against the strain and the stress of body and mind which that civilization has forced upon him.



Publishers Photo Service

One of the primitive methods of thrashing rice in the Philippines. In this case the natives use their bare feet, thrashing the rice on a straw mat

THE FILIPINOS' DEMAND FOR INDEPENDENCE

By WALTER ROBB

Secretary of the American Chamber of Commerce of the Philippine Islands; formerly a supervisor of the Philippine public schools and a newspaper man in Manila

The effect of the promise contained in the act of Congress to grant the Philippines complete self-government—Progress retarded by the policy of the Filipino leaders in preventing the investment of American capital

PRESIDENT MCKINLEY'S expression "self-government" has been extended in the Philippine Islands to mean absolute independence by that portion of the governing class that has been in control since 1907. In 1916, the last time Congress legislated for the islands, their adherents put this extended meaning into the preamble of the organic act, the Jones law, abolishing the Philippine Commission, an appointive body of Filipinos and Americans, and creating a complete Legislature with a Senate of twenty-four members, twenty-two elective and two appointive, for the non-Christians. There are two classes (with a third, middle class, developing encouragingly under the American flag), "those who are capable of governing and those who are governable," as one of the former class explained it naively to Mr. Taft. Those who are capable of governing, accepting for the moment their own confident classification, are very largely half-castes or nearly white. Resident Commissioner Isauro Gabaldo is a type of this class. Those who are governable, as the governing class has dubbed them, are, as a group, Malaysians. They are Filipinos, small landowners and workers in every line of trade. When the Spaniards came to the islands, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, they had forgotten Buddhism and were, in the south, Mohammedans; and Mohammedan missionaries were inculcating the doctrine throughout the northern islands. Christianity, however, arrested this movement. Rejected in Japan and China, it was readily embraced in the Philippines; Filipinos, save the Moros of the south, where Spain never

had much sway, became Christians. A long period of religious absolutism and political oppression began that only ended with the Aguinaldo insurrection and the coming of the Americans in 1898.

The American occupation brought about the divorce of Church and State, unhorsed the robed grandees on great estates, namely, the Friars, and founded sound civil government and a system of public schools under a benevolent policy in which "even the prejudices" of the people, as President McKinley enjoined upon the first commission, are respected, and the Filipino participation has grown until now the only officials appointed from Washington are the Governor General, the Vice Governor and Secretary of Public Instruction, and the Insular Auditor and Justices of the Supreme Court—where the rule from the beginning has been to have a Filipino Chief Justice and an American majority, a rule which President Wilson, at the end of his second term, would have abolished by making the majority of the court Filipino had not a Republican Senate refused to confirm his nominations to the court.

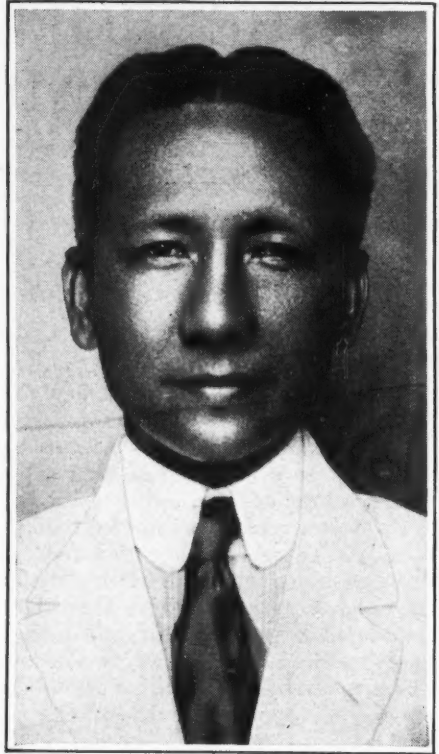
Spanish influence is still strong, through pulpit, press and men of property. Spain lost the Philippines politically twenty-five years ago; her culture still pervades every town and hamlet, and only yields to American culture by inches. The purpose of English in the public schools, where some 1,300,000 children are attending and where there should now be provision for 2,000,000 more but for lack of funds, is to give the Filipinos a common language in place of their regional tongues, which are something more than dialects, something less

than languages, that have heretofore combined with poor means of transportation to set up artificial barriers and prolong sectionalism.

The Filipino is a sober, home-loving man and a good workman at both skilled and unskilled labor. The population of the islands is roughly 11,000,000, chiefly on a dozen large islands of which Luzon is largest, 41,000 square miles, and Mindanao next, 36,000 square miles, and the Visayan group or the middle islands, the most important, embracing about half of the total population and furnishing, with the Ilocano provinces of Luzon, the labor that is willing to migrate to new regions. In round numbers the land area of the islands is 29,000,000 hectares, a hectare being $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres; there are some 4,500,000 hectares of this under private title and something more than 2,500,000 hectares under cultivation, the remainder not under private title, some 25,000,000 hectares, being United States public domain belonging to the American people and, by provision of Congress—an action for which there is no precedent in our territorial administration—administered by the Philippine Government.

The crux of the Philippine problem is to be found in the United States public domain and the sparse and under-capitalized population of the islands in perspective, the "governable" class, eager to advance, eager for education and the common rights of man, but still prone, by village and tribal organization and by religious training, to make, almost involuntarily, its humble genuflections before any one assuming authority. No one claims that American supervision of the Government, practically autonomous under the Jones law, has in any way oppressed these people beyond the degree consequent upon the administration being so largely in the hands of the class capable of governing." The trend and purpose has, of course, been quite in the contrary direction.

As soon as the Jones law was passed Governor General Harrison, who was under President Wilson, was inclined very strongly to relinquish authority, and the astute statesmen with whom he worked—Speaker (now Senator) Sergio Osmeña and Senate President Manuel Quezon, joint



Keystone

SERGIO OSMENA

Generally recognized as the ablest leader of the Filipinos

heads of the majority party—were eager to assume it. Their conviction was, although many of their utterances were not in line with it, that, with the administration of the public domain in their own hands, every possible handicap should be placed in the way of the investment of capital in the islands to develop the natural resources. America requires, and has always required, the raw products of the Philippines, especially Manila hemp. American merchant firms established in Manila a hundred years ago dealt in raw products while their British friends were importers. Today the raw-product needs of the country are immensely greater, and rubber is a big item, the biggest of all. There are public lands enough in Mindanao alone to supply all the tropical raw products America requires, including rubber.

Congress in the Jones law and the Pub-

lic Lands act of the local Legislature that quickly followed it gave the Legislature a club with which to frighten off both settlers and capital from the public lands. The Land act, which was approved by President Wilson, provides that no corporation may lease or purchase more than 2,500 acres of the public domain. Franchises for railways and other utilities are wholly dependent upon action of the Legislature, and by inadequate appropriations for the Bureau of Lands the work of surveying and delimiting the public lands can be indefinitely prolonged. It is the same way with surveys of the mineral wealth, which is known to be enormous. Mr. Quezon on occasion has been quite frank in stating that the Filipinos were opposed to the investment of large sums of foreign, and particularly American, capital in the islands, "lest that very procedure should become an excuse or a pretext for postponing or even putting off indefinitely the day of their national independence," but that if they were promised independence they would welcome the coming of capital. Congress gave the promise of independence in the preamble of the Jones law in 1916, and both Mr. Quezon and Mr. Osmeña have said since that they do welcome American capital in view of the pledge in the preamble. But fundamentally there remain two divergent views. One is that, however capable politically the Filipinos may be, the country cannot afford to give up American sovereignty. The other is found in the declared purposes of both the majority and minority parties, for "complete, immediate and absolute independence," and Mr. Quezon's party platform's second plank, "permanent free trade with the United States," which was established by the Payne act in 1909, and is of such economic import that Mr. Quezon has declared repeatedly that the islands cannot prosper without it.

Congress forgot that the islands are, politically and economically, interlocked with the mother country, the Federal Government. It forgot that business as well as politics is involved in the administration of a country. The stable Government, indeed a model one, which was being studied as such by political scientists, which Congress in the Jones law so largely turned over to the local Legislature, then

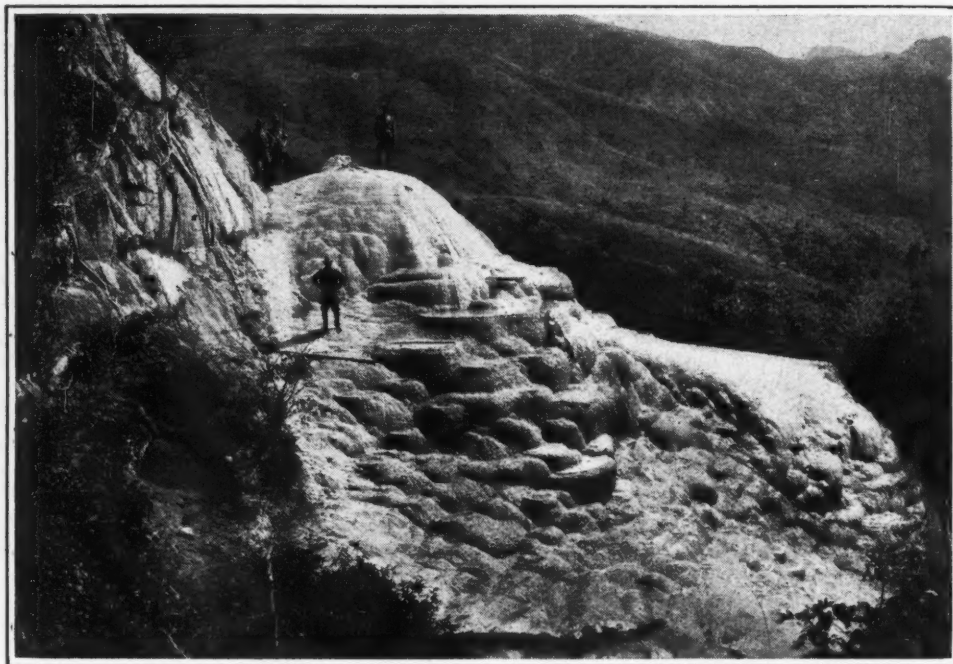
and now controlled by the Quezon party, soon found means to fritter away its gold reserve of \$35,000,000 in a "national" movement to promote Filipino business; and from an indebtedness of \$15,000,000 gold it has leaped carelessly to one of nearly \$100,000,000—all in bonds, actually, though not by specific clause, guaranteed by the United States, all in bonds purchased by American investors in the United States, not one having been bought by a Filipino. Governor General Wood's favorite definition of a stable Government is "one under which capital seeks investment at normal rates of interest." Good bonds draw normal rates of interest, but Philippine bonds are not purchased in the Philippines by any one, because money is actually worth 1 per cent. per month on the best of security. The Philippine National Bank, through which the gold standard



Keystone

MANUEL QUEZON

President of the Philippine Senate and
leader of the Filipino independence
movement



Underwood

A salt deposit in the Philippines

fund was manipulated under Filipino management, was again placed under American management in 1921, but is still struggling to increase its assets to somewhere in the neighborhood of its liabilities. Government funds cannot be deposited in any other bank, nor in this bank now, because of its depleted reserves, with the result that they lie in the Treasury along with \$750,000 of postal savings bank funds, drawing no interest.

The provinces are entirely without facilities. Chinese merchants, who take a trader's profit out of everything the people buy or sell, and other money lenders take the place of banks. Charges are high and in many instances extortionate, but the burden falls upon the "governable class." The total circulation in the islands is about \$6.50 per capita; the insular revenues are \$3.75 per capita; the National Bank has found that "none of the ordinary conditions which make real estate loans in farming districts sound investments in the United States are to be found (except perhaps in rare instances that prove the rule) in the Philippines." The bank finds, for

instance, that local opinion, community sympathy with the man who has failed to pay his debts, interferes with foreclosures. It finds titles uncertain and boundaries disputed, another condition chargeable to the Land Office and to inadequate appropriations. In short, the country begs for capital, but there are misgivings in the minds of the majority about letting it come into the islands. There has been no exploitation, but the needed volume is feared.

It is no doubt to be largely attributed to this that the fabric of encroachment upon the executive authority lodged in the Governor General by the Jones law has been built up in accordance with Mr. Osmeña's aim of eventual independence. Mr. Harrison, equipped by the Jones law with a cabinet, superimposed upon this body the Council of State. He did this by executive order, and made the Council of State to consist of the Cabinet members and the Speaker and Senate President, thus destroying the system of checks and balances provided in the law, and making legislative and executive authority one, as it is in this body that bills are formulated; and the

legislative heads must stamp approval upon every bill before it has the remotest chance of passing. There are now more than sixty laws on the Philippine statute books authorizing action by the Governor General "by and with the consent of the Council of State." They represent the majority party's efforts, quite successful, to put the Governor General within metes and bounds, whether strictly legal or not; and the laws are really legal in so far as the tacit consent of Congress is concerned. Above the Council of State is the Board of Control, consisting of the Governor General, the Speaker and the Senate President. This arbitrary body, in which the Governor General may be outvoted two to one, is also written into the local laws, although, like the Council of State, it was not contemplated by the Jones law of 1916. The Board of Control votes the Government stock in the "national" companies. It controls, as its name implies. It elects railroad directors, bank directors, directors for the National Cement Company, directors

for the National Coal Company, directors for the National Development Company and so on through the list of "national" enterprises living upon public capital first drawn from the gold reserve. Some, like the coal company, exploit the public domain.

Governor General Wood has wanted to get the Government out of business, but he is a minority. The leaning is the other way. Mr. Quezon thinks the department secretaries, as they are confirmed by the Senate, should be responsible to the Legislature, instead of to the Chief Executive, whose department heads they are. In every way Mr. Quezon is jealous of what he terms the "Filipino participation in the Government," and feels that the Governor General should go according to his (Quezon's) will as majority leader in all matters of local nature. This is his interpretation of the "implied provisions" of the Jones law. Governor General Wood has another interpretation, adhering more closely to the text of the law, which is plain and detailed. It gives the Governor General "supervision and control" of the executive branch of the Government. But, while with this is coupled the veto power, Mr. Quezon and his followers object to the use of the veto power on matters of "purely domestic concern," which is still more an "implied" power of the Legislature read into the Jones law. It is hard to see how such an interpretation could fail to create a political oligarchy; it is equally hard to see, with the bond obligations and the treaty responsibilities of the Federal Government, exactly where the boundaries of a "purely domestic" problem lie.

For example, the provinces and towns vote bonds for public improvements and collect land taxes to meet the payments, the Insular Government supervising the procedure and guaranteeing the bonds, as does the United States. Mr. Quezon, making a trip through the provinces, wanted the time for paying the land tax extended and the penalties condoned. Was this a "purely domestic" matter? Governor General Wood did not think so. He had word, too, from Filipino officials that 90 per cent. of the poor, the "governable" element, had paid their taxes and it was only



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A native of the Philippine Islands who was a head-hunter before he was reformed under the influence of American civilization

the rich and well-to-do who were asking for extensions. The Governor General did not grant the extensions.

Mr. Quezon presently found other grounds for complaint in a police episode that developed in Manila, a well-governed city in which the Governor General naturally takes pride. Prosecution of the American patrolman in charge of the gambling squad, despite every resource of the Mayor (whom the Governor General appoints) and the Secretary of the Interior, a high member of the Cabinet and of the Council of State, failed to convict. The Governor General had said that if the man were acquitted he should be reinstated. The man was tried before a Filipino Judge and when the verdict was announced the Secretary of Interior was told by the Governor General to reinstate him. The Secretary of the Interior transmitted the order to the Mayor and resigned, saying he believed the man was a crook. The Mayor, avoiding action, deserted his post for two days. Whereupon, as he could not deal with the Mayor, the Governor General sent an order for the reinstatement of the policeman to the Chief of Police, who promptly resigned, drew his retirement and suspension-period pay and left the Government service. Mr. Quezon fastened upon this as an issue against the Governor General on grounds of encroachment upon the prerogatives of other (Filipino) officials and induced all the Filipino members of the Council of State to resign in a body, he and Speaker Roxas keeping their salaries as heads of the Legislature, the only ones they draw, and all the others sacrificing not only good positions but salaries of \$500 gold per month. Governor General Wood accepted the resignations as a challenge. Local parties are constantly challenging each other's actions in behalf of early independence. It was therefore natural—the Independence Commission being the Legislature—that a member of the minority, a Democrat, should cap the Quezon resolutions against the Governor General by an amendment demanding the latter's recall; and when this was done by the Opposition, it only remained for the majority to go one step further and, with another amendment, request appointment of a Filipino Governor General.



Underwood

Filipino tree climbers—a man and his wife—racing up a tall, smooth-barked palm tree

The situation in the Philippines can be well understood when we contrast two communities, one where there is an American industrial enterprise and one where there is none. Where there is an American industrial enterprise there is a store selling goods to the people at little more than cost. Where there is none, one or more Chinese traders take every possible advantage of their customers. Where there is an American industrial enterprise, there is a hospital, as fully equipped and as large as the investment will warrant, where not only workmen and their families, but the whole community as well, may be treated, usually free. In other communities there is no hospital, unless it be a Government institution, and these are few, or an American mission hospital. Schools are encouraged and often maintained by American companies in the provinces. There is always a public hall, where the people meet

socially for dances and entertainments, and these halls are freely given to the use of the schools. You do not find them elsewhere, except where Filipinos, at sugar mill centres, have followed the American example, as they are fond of doing. There is ice for the sick at such places; elsewhere, none. There is electric light for the village at such places; elsewhere, none. Wages are highest and employment steadiest at such places, and against peonage is the honest daily wage for honest labor.

The whole economic structure of the Philippines is based upon free trade with the United States, and it would fall like a house of cards whenever Japan should claim most-favored-nation treatment following a grant of independence. The Filipino, whose per capita buying power is now above that of the Japanese, and far and away above that of the Chinese, because he gets wages in gold, would then sink again to the level of a serf. The Philippines have not a soldier, not a naval vessel of their own, nor an adequate national income, and the islands lie in the shadow of that one of the four powers that lacks minerals and resources and that claims a sphere of influence in the East. Banking and other business facilities, as

well as commercial training, are no less lacking to supply the needs of an independent people.

The solution of the Philippine problem is a very simple one. First, the stability of the Government which existed when the Congressional promise in the Jones law was made has been destroyed by Filipino administration, so that independence not only can with entire honor be postponed indefinitely, but ought to be postponed. Second, a brief act should follow, nullifying all local laws that infringe upon the power of the Governor General and that link legislative and executive authority mischievously together. Third, under a Congressional public lands act adjusted to farming needs in the tropics, United States land offices should be established in the Philippines and 1,000 surveyors sent to establish the boundaries of the public domain before they are further encroached upon. This will protect the national interests, serve the interests of the masses and usher in such a period of development as has never been imagined. Since under the Jones law, a Filipino may at any time be appointed Governor General, nothing more than the changes here suggested would be needed for fifty years.



Underwood

Memorial to the Filipinos who fought in the revolution against Spain. It is situated on the outskirts of Manila, and is regarded as one of the most beautiful soldiers' memorials ever erected

THE FOREIGN GRIP ON CHINA

By FRANK H. HEDGES

Formerly Peking correspondent of the Japan Advertiser of Tokio
and managing editor of that newspaper while in Tokio

Danger to China from abolition of the rights and privileges of foreigners—The republic no longer able to cut itself off from the rest of the world—Need for curbing foreign rapacity and interference

THICK walls and a dry moat shut off three sides of a little plot of ground in Peking; on the fourth there rises the high Tartar wall built by the Khans of old for protection. Soldiers of seven nations guard this enclosure, but not one Chinese is allowed to pass through its gates while bearing arms. It is the Legation Quarter in the ancient capital of the world's most ancient nation, wrested from that nation by the outer world at the point of the bayonet. The laws of the West and the soldiers of the West hold sway there, and the Republic of China has no voice in what may go on.

In other parts of China there are other quarters, some of them extensive, which have been taken from China by powers stronger than she. Some have been taken by force; others merely by brutally clever diplomacy with the threat of superior force behind it. On certain of the pitifully few railways of the republic foreign creditors have a stranglehold gained by dollars and pounds and francs and yen. The maritime customs duties of China cannot become a question of internal politics because the rate is fixed by nations trading with that country, and even the collection of duties is administered by British, American and other foreign officials. Wherever the Westerner may go within the borders of the republic, if he break its laws he can be tried only in the courts established by his homeland.

Here is a nation of millions of people with a territory greater than that of all Europe, and yet the foreigner is a more privileged person than is the native-born Chinese. He may strike a coolie a blow that will send him reeling, but the coolie merely puts his hand to his injured face and slinks away with fear and perhaps a

silent hatred. The foreigner demands and extracts a homage from the Chinese masses that would not be tolerated for a moment by the poorer classes in his own country, that the American would not even think of demanding from the negroes of this nation. In discussing China, both publicly and privately, the foreigner pronounces judgments so harsh and condemnatory that, if a European in this country were to express them in regard to the United States, they would cause his immediate deportation.

Is it to be wondered that at heart every Chinese is anti-foreign, that his slumbering hatred of the men who so treat him and his country will spring into flame whenever and wherever possible? Yet, although it is true that this feeling is deep and hidden in the heart of China, no one can live there long and not realize that the occasional capture of foreigners or other outbreaks against them are not due primarily to anti-foreign agitation or to give vent to this feeling. They spring, rather, from the same cause as makes the domination of the foreigner possible, from the disturbed state of the nation and China's inability to administer her own affairs so that "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" may be freely enjoyed by both foreigner and Chinese. The abolition of extraterritorial rights, the withdrawal of the legation and railway guards, the placing of the foreigner on the same status as the Chinese would mean that every foreigner in China would be forced to forsake his home and business there and that China would once more be isolated from the world.

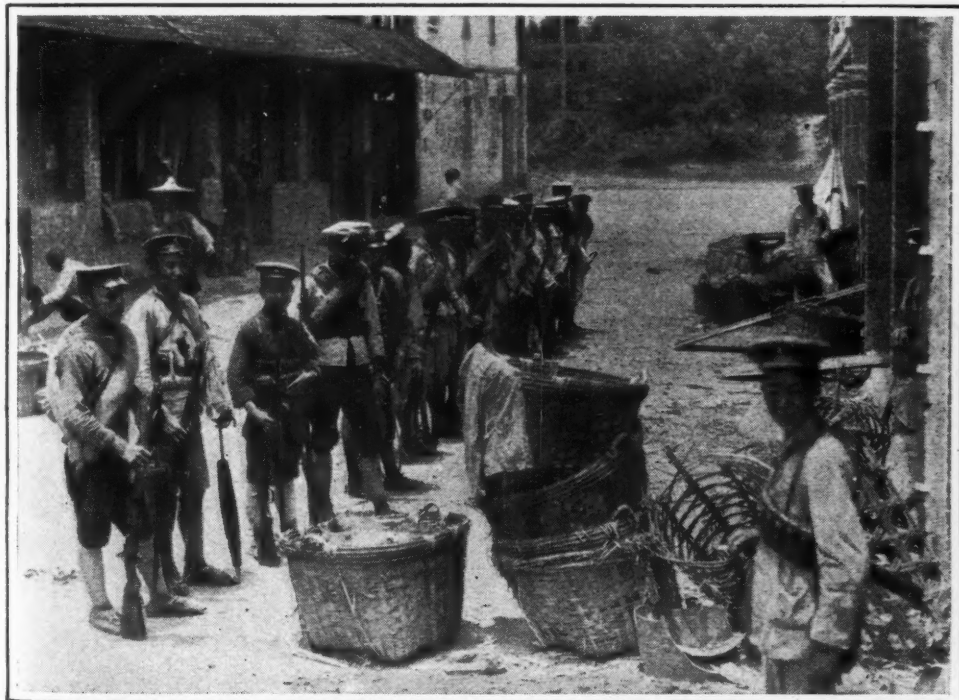
But that, argue a few of her critics, would be the best thing that could happen to China. Nearly two years ago Dr. W.

W. Yen, then Minister of Foreign Affairs and one of the most capable and brilliant of China's statesmen, expressed to me the guiding principle of his nation's foreign policy in the phrase, "To be left alone." Nevertheless, China cannot be "left alone." She cannot even be left alone in the sense intended by Dr. Yen, that of political interference, although foreign meddling in this direction can be reduced to the minimum necessary to safeguard foreign interests, much to the benefit of both those interests and of China. China has become an integral part of world life. The rest of the world needs China, needs her as a producer and as a market, needs her peculiar contribution to world culture, needs even her co-operation in the making of the world of today and the new world of tomorrow. Greatly as the world needs China, however, China herself needs the world even more. The foreigner's status and institutions in China have become such an important part of Chinese life that it would be impossible for them to be abol-

ished or withdrawn without seriously inconveniencing China, without working a revolution in the Government, finance and civilization of present-day China.

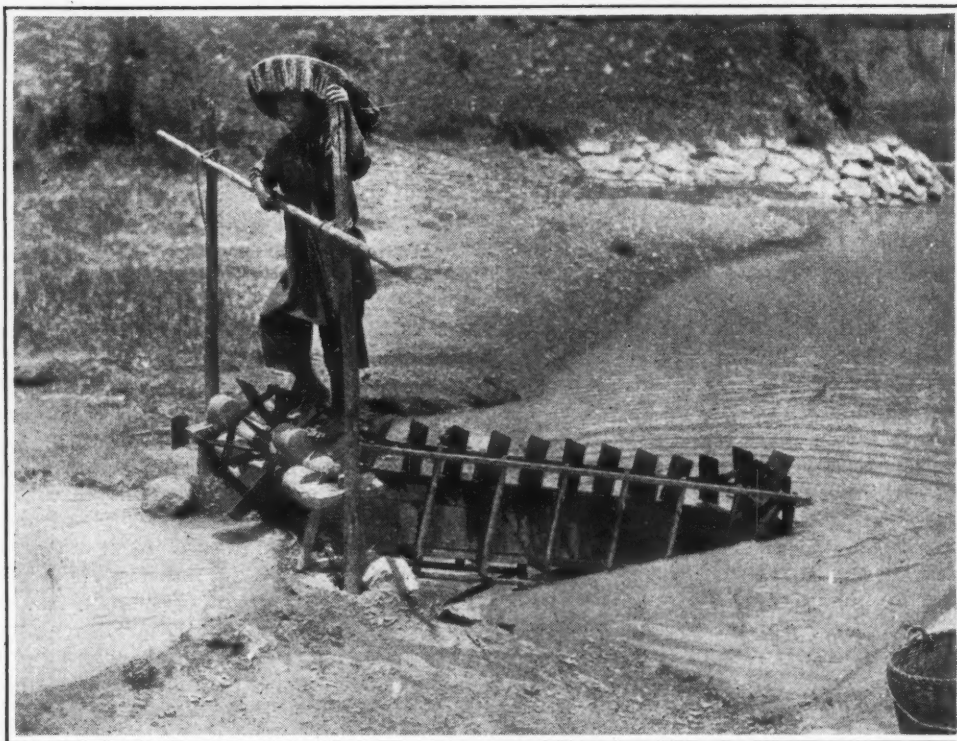
PAST INFLUENCES

That for centuries China had been sufficient unto herself, that she had evolved her national life and developed her national culture unaided by outside influences and unstimulated by any force save her own, is a theory that has come to be accepted in Europe and America as a fact. It is true that the China revealed to the world at large through the British East India Company and the fast American clippers of a century ago showed but little trace of Western influence, but an examination of the static China of that day shows that foreign ideas and institutions had invaded China in the past, and had become so much a part of Chinese life as to be indistinguishable from the native growth by the Western merchants who blazed the trail for China's intercourse



International

Some of Sun Yat-sen's troops in a Chinese village which had just been cleared of bandits



International.

A primitive method of drawing water still in use in China. Only gradually are crudely constructed pumps such as these being displaced by modern contrivances

with the West. The changes that have come to China in the past century are not greater than those which had preceded it. To undo this work would require nothing less than a revolution.

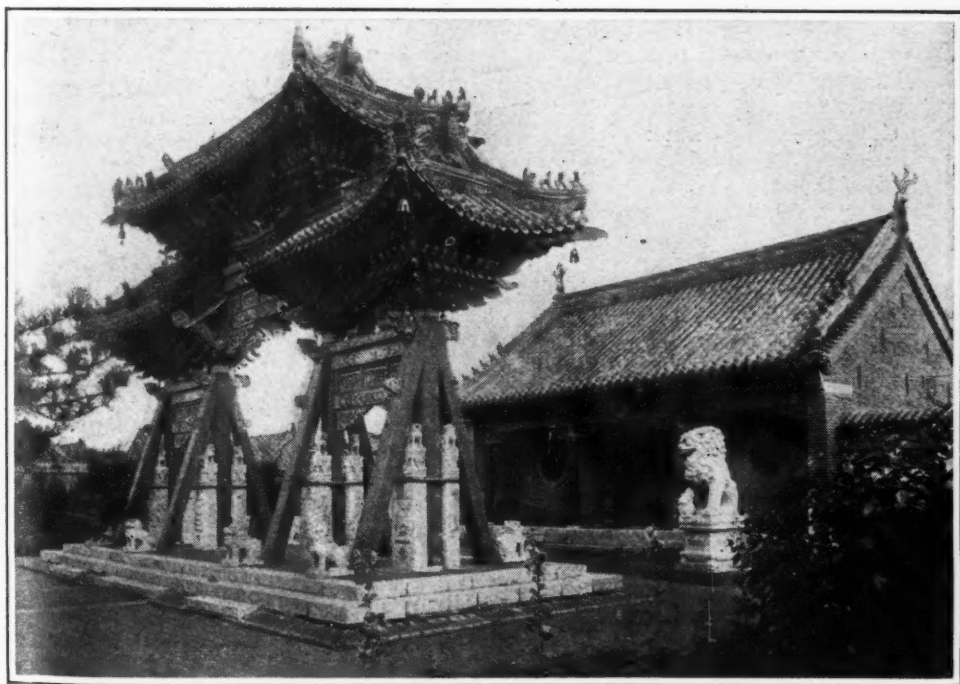
At Shanghai, at Tientsin, at Hankow and at a few other cities of China there are concessions of land which have been granted to foreign nations and which are governed by those nations. There are also colonies, such as Hongkong, and there is the Legation Quarter in Peking. The mere presence of foreigners in these places and the activities for which they are used as bases have proved the greatest factor in the modification of China. These bits of soil in China but not of China, these concessions where the laws of other nations prevail, are among the most important stones in the structure of government and commerce that has been reared by China in recent years. They are indispensable to the present system.

China is constantly torn by civil strife and is filled with plotting and scheming politicians and warriors. Defeat for certain of them is inevitable, and with defeat come capture and often death. Scarcely a Chinese high in official life but maintains a home in the foreign concession of Tientsin, Shanghai or some other city. He maintains it as a place of refuge when the fortunes of war or of politics turn against him. He can flee, say, to Tientsin, and there be safe under the law of Japan, Great Britain or another of the nations with a concession. He is a political refugee, and so the law of China cannot reach him. Without such an easy and accessible refuge, it is probable that both war and politics would move more cautiously in China than at present. A President of the republic once found refuge in a Peking legation; the chief military support of a succeeding Government fled for safety to still another legation, and, later,

to Tientsin; Dr. Sun Yat-sen of Canton left that city on a British gunboat when he was defeated by a rival, transferred at Hongkong to a merchantman under the British flag and finally reached his home in the French concession at Shanghai, from where he carried on the plans that last February enabled him to return once more to Canton victorious. Without the presence of foreign men-of-war in Chinese waters, without the existence of the British Crown Colony of Hongkong and of the French concession in Shanghai, Dr. Sun would probably not have been able to escape, or would have been forced to flee earlier in the desultory battling, which he was able to prolong by boarding a Chinese gunboat that hid behind the foreign settlement at Canton across which his rival dared not fire.

That the bulk of China's foreign trade should be conducted from her ports and cities in which foreign merchants reside is evident, but there is still another reason why virtually all her wealth in specie is concentrated in these areas. The civil strife and banditry that are chronic in

China are a menace to wealth. Not only can the defeated politician and warrior flee to the protection of a foreign flag, but so can the rich merchant and banker, who, in his flight, carries with him his fortune and so places it beyond the grasp of bandits or soldiers whose hands reach out for loot. The larger Chinese banks of Peking have vaults and depositories inside the walls of the Legation Quarter, and every evening the clink of silver dollars may be heard as vast sums of money are carried inside these walls for protection through the night. Smaller banks deposit their funds in one of the foreign banking institutions when trouble looms. With the threat of civil war or of semi-organized military looting near Peking, there is a frantic rush of valuables and of prominent Chinese toward the Legation Quarter, a missionary compound or merely the home of some foreigner over which flies the flag of the United States or another foreign nation. Only a year ago the aunt of the Princess, who is now the Empress of China, spent a month in the home of missionary friends because two



The American Consulate at Mukden, Manchuria, in what was formerly a Chinese temple



DR. SUN YAT-SEN

International

A new portrait of the national leader of South China taken after his return to Canton

rival Generals were struggling at the very gates of Peking. The use of foreigners as pawns in the game of bandits versus the Peking Government has but recently riveted the attention of this country on China as it had not been for years.

VALUE OF FOREIGN FLAGS

Unfortunately, the flags of certain Western nations have become articles of trade and barter, and again have been misused. Piracy is the order of the day on the Upper Yangtse. Two years ago the sale of the French flag to purely Chinese boats on that river had become so flagrant that the French Government was forced to conduct a Consular investigation into the practice. Not only were many Chinese owned and operated steamers illegally flying the Tricolor, but many business houses in Ichang were displaying it over their doors. It offered greater immunity from looting. In other cases, Chinese merchants paid French undesirables to pose as their business partners, so that, in case their

shops were pillaged, they would be able to demand a heavy indemnity through the French Legation.

Many of the mechanical inventions of the West have become indispensable to the scheme of things in China. Guns and bullets play a greater part in the making of current history there than do the walls that were erected around cities for protection from lancers and horsemen centuries ago. Although the Chinese had gunpowder long before Europe, it was Europe that taught China its modern use. The railroad systems account for much that goes on in the great Asiatic republic. Almost invariably major civil warfare takes place along these lines of steel, for the quick transportation of troops and supplies makes possible more battles in a month than could take place in a year under the old order. The part played by the railroads in Chinese life is not, however, confined to war, but is in a large measure responsible for the limited development of the republic's vast natural

resources. The coal mines of North China owe their life to transportation facilities, while enormous deposits of coal and other minerals in the interior lie virtually untouched because of the impossibility of moving the coal to market once it has been mined. The foreign steamship lines alone make possible the entry of Chinese products in world markets. Cotton mills, egg drying plants, flour mills and other Western machinery are daily aiding in converting raw materials into dollars and cents, which in turn mean food, clothing and shelter not only for mill operators but for several thousand of the many millions of people in a nation where the margin of existence is of the narrowest and where the supply of labor so far exceeds the demand that death is always near at hand. The printing press in the form of the daily newspaper has entered the life of present-day China, and, while it cannot truthfully be said that its influence as yet has been for the best, the fact to be faced is that

this foreign innovation has become a necessary part of Chinese life.

POLITICAL LOANS

Foreign loans to the Chinese Government are largely responsible for the existence of that Government as it is now constituted and for the activities of a number of foreign Governments and business men in China. Foreign creditors control most of the railways of the republic because of equities through unpaid obligations for their construction. Perhaps most of the loans made to China have been honest business deals, but there are cases where foreign Governments have taken advantage of the cupidity of Chinese office holders to foist money on China which gave those Governments unfair political advantages. It is not to be expected that a Government which has obtained such a grip will relinquish it easily, and this must be taken into account by the politicians who sit in Peking and who have



International

The waterhole near the bandits' last outpost where the foreigners captured in the Lingcheng outrage rested after their release

to shape their course accordingly. The very form of the Government itself has been borrowed from the West. China has amply demonstrated that she is not yet ready for self-government by the whole of her people, but, nevertheless, this is the form which she adopted through revolution eleven years ago. If an attempt to return to the old system be made, it will be found that these eleven years as a republic have brought about modifications that will have to be incorporated in any Government of China from now on.

THE CUSTOMS SERVICE

The institution that comes most readily to mind in connection with foreigners and China, unless it be extraterritoriality itself, is the maritime customs service of the republic. For more than half a century the administration of these customs duties has been under foreign control for the purpose of maintaining foreign trade and commerce, and it has become easily the most important stone in China's financial structure. Not only has the fair and just collection of maritime customs duties fostered and developed private trade and commerce, but the expenditure under similar conditions of the funds derived therefrom forms the only steady bulwark of any magnitude for governmental finance, both foreign and domestic. One by one the major sources of Chinese Government revenue have ceased to flow into the Peking Treasury or have been greatly curtailed with the exception of the customs revenue. It is the security for the more important foreign debts, and it is a security in which the investor has absolute confidence. After payment of foreign obligations secured directly on the customs, the balance is the one dependable

source of income for the Government to put to other uses.

China can never return to the system of education that held sway in that country for centuries. Modern science has displaced the ancient classics in the winning of bread and butter and the governing of the nation. No matter how respectful the attitude of the masses may be toward the sayings of Confucius, the Western-trained mining engineer is certain to play an increasingly important rôle in the future China. The railroads, the mines, the mills, the press, the schools themselves, the system of government—these and dozens of other factors in present-day China can not and will not dispense with the products of Western education.

China cannot solve her own problems without the aid of the West, for nearly all those problems have arisen because of the West. There are theories without number as to what should be done, ranging from isolation to complete intervention. He who advocates intervention brings up a whole train of complexities which make such action well-nigh impossible, even if wise. He who advocates isolation shows but little understanding of the China of today. It is true that the dominating, one might almost say domineering, position of the foreigner in China has much within it that is evil and that should be corrected, but it is even more true that this correction cannot be successfully made overnight by the abolition of what are termed "foreign rights and privileges." Such an abolition would mean the withdrawal from China of all foreigners and foreign influences, and China has reached the point where this is impossible from her own standpoint. China can never be "left alone" by the West again; the problem is one of adjustment, not of amputation.



THE CHANGING MORALITY OF WOMAN

By ALYSE GREGORY

Formerly organizer for the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Organization, assistant director of the Gary School League, executive secretary of the People's Educational Council and research worker for the Carnegie Corporation, joint author with Ruth Stocking of "Population and Its Distribution," and essayist and literary critic

The influence of modern conditions upon the attitude toward chastity and fidelity—A state of affairs the existence of which can no longer be denied—How marriage and women are affected by easier moral standards

IN the various articles and debates which have flooded American periodicals during the last few years regarding the digressions of the younger generation very little attention has been paid to the fact that the Anglo-Saxon attitude toward the chastity of woman is undergoing a distinct change. Whether acknowledged outwardly or not this is plainly discernible in current fiction, on the stage, and in casual conversation among men and women. The old values of chastity and fidelity on the part of women have been subjected to innumerable flank attacks until it almost seems as if they were giving way to the more daring and uncertain ones of outspokenness and freedom. We have but to take up one of the latest novels to find that the heroine, who has lost her virginity before marriage, is not at all concerned over the fact, and makes an excellent marriage in spite of it. Where such a lapse used to end in tears, eternal disgrace, and a miserable spinsterhood, it now terminates in *un mariage d'honneur*, and a harmonious home, a home, however, not too rigid for possible future escape. A prominent English novelist depicts her heroine as ashamed to marry but forced at last to submit to the humiliation of the troublesome formality because the man she loves refuses to live with her on any other terms.

Side by side with this change in the social fabric is the increase in divorce, an increase more rapid than that of the population. This has been attributed to the fact that divorce in this country is so easy to obtain. But in Scandinavia, where

the divorce laws are even more lenient, there are fewer divorces in comparison with the population than in the United States. And as a matter of fact divorce even in this country is almost prohibitive for the very poor.

The hue and cry that has arisen over the present condition of affairs is not really directed toward men but toward women, and especially toward young girls. Yet if the sequence of events leading up to the present situation could be examined with cool dispassionateness it would perhaps not be so difficult to understand why the twentieth century is witnessing so many startling changes in the conduct of the more unimpeachable sex.

In spite of the wisdom, genius, and spiritual generosity of its founder, the Christian religion, it would seem, has been in many ways detrimental to the independence and advancement of woman. The high status to which she was rapidly attaining under the Roman Empire was gradually changed to one of subservience and inferiority. The well-known utterances of St. Paul, with their vehement anti-feminist bias, have come ringing down to the present day. "Woman is the root of all evil," said St. Jerome, and St. Augustine went even further and added, "why was woman created at all?" Concurrently with this subtle depreciation of women in the social and religious life of the Western World was the disrepute into which had fallen all bodily pleasures. We have, however, ample enough proof in those records of the time which have survived that although asceticism was extolled

throughout the middle ages it was infrequently enough practiced by the male members of society.

The Renaissance, with its efflorescence of art and its pagan acceptance of pleasure as an end in itself, was quickly followed by the Reformation and the Catholic Counter Reformation when Puritans and Jesuits alike snapped down the covers over those more troublesome impulses which men seem always to have found so difficult—nay, so impossible—to hold in complete abeyance. During all this time woman had accepted without organized rebellion a position of inferiority to that of man, a survival of the usages of former ages when the law of superior strength was the rule of life. She had ministered to his wants, suffered his infidelities, acted as nursemaid and mother to his children, and, in fact, devoted every moment of her day to his interests. The existence of this slave flatterer beside him contributed to the sense of power and vanity of the poorest day laborer as well as to that of the highest noble.

THE DOMESTIC REVOLUTION.

During the hundred years preceding the industrial revolution, in spite of her subservient position, woman found plenty of interesting labor for her hands and an outlet for her creative energies. One hesitates to repeat once more the all too familiar story of the times of our great-grandmothers, when the home was the centre of a thousand important activities—the spinning and weaving of the clothes, the curing of the animals, the preparation of the foods, the supervision of the dairy, the manufacture of soap and candles, and the actual educating of the children. There were many hardships and privations, but on the whole life must have been more interesting and stimulating for mothers and housewives then than at any subsequent period. We all know how much more enduring and beautiful was the craftsman-ship of that day than the present one.

Slowly but inexorably the industrial revolution extended poisonous tentacles into this complete and self-sustained family life. With the invention of machinery woman's immemorial, though arbitrarily assigned tasks, fell gradually, almost imper-

ceptibly, at first, from her surprised and resisting hands. The great food and canning factories, the department stores, the slaughter houses, each and all, contributed toward robbing her of her accustomed occupations. For many women it became necessary either to sit at home and starve or to follow their old work to its new destination. Thousands and thousands chose the latter alternative. Huge cities grew up and even the children were taken from the parental roof and regimented in great stone buildings resembling factories, where they were put through the lock-step of standardized education. One more "sacred duty" wrested forever from the mother! The number of women working in shops and factories crept steadily past the million mark, then past the next million and on and on until it seemed as though there were to be no end to this exodus from the home.

On the one hand, then, were the women earning their living at monotonous and confining labor and on the other the prosperous wives and daughters of men who had either inherited wealth, belonged to the professional classes, or were the owners or executives of great business concerns. One can trace in the literature of the Victorian era the dulled timorousness of these leisured women, their whole activities centred on attracting some man, yet unable to show by the lifting of an eyebrow when at last a man did appear that on him depended their whole future security and happiness. Any one who has seen Granville Barker's "Madras House," where endless meek sisters all dress exactly alike, all voice the same boring sentiments, and all fade gradually away in genteel desuetude, can construct a picture of that most arid of times for women. Boys could escape to schools and colleges, and if now and then one of them got a village girl into certain unmentionable difficulties these dashing young blades were neither disinherited nor forced to marry their victims. Quite the contrary; in fact, society upheld them, for it was the woman who was always supposed in the wrong in such matters, even if that woman happened to be a naïve young servant girl of seventeen or eighteen, whose family, following the discreet example set by their superiors,

had avoided teaching her anything about the fundamental facts of life. Plain, respectable girls were condemned to an idle and uncomplaining celibacy until they reached the ages when they could vent their frustrations on their pretty grandnieces by admonishing them not to step outside the home—the “home” which Bernard Shaw has called “the woman’s workhouse and the girl’s prison.”

THE OLD MORALITY

By the early nineties, however, this condition of affairs had been greatly modified. After Ibsen’s “Doll’s House,” but largely owing to the fact that women were more and more leaving their homes to enter the business or professional world, a general change of opinion took place, but not in the field of morals. Woman’s virginity was still her most sacred gift to the man she married and the loss of it practically excluded her from the possibility of finding a husband. As for men, whether married or unmarried, they sought sex excitement outside their homes. The very fact that they had a dependent, docile and sweetly forgiving wife gave them just that sense of restlessness which lured them out in quest of more treacherous and piquant companionship. Yet they would have locked these same docile wives out in the street, as in the case of “Madame X” or Pinero’s “Mid-Channel,” if they had returned suddenly to find them entertaining too intimately some man of their acquaintance, and public opinion would have upheld them. No one was to poach on their preserves, though they themselves could wander free and at large.

Suddenly, in the midst of these inherited attitudes of men and women, the suffrage

movement which had been gathering momentum over the years burst like a clap of thunder, enveloping the Anglo-Saxon world. “Down with the double standard” was one of the slogans which meant greater chastity for men rather than more sex freedom for women. In great columns, through the streets of London and New

York, with incredulous and gaping crowds banking the pavements, marched young, middle-aged and elderly women side by side, their banners waving over them. For the first time in the history of the world women experienced an articulate and thrilling sex solidarity. They liquefied their grievances and turned volte face on the astounded and somewhat discomfited members of the male sex, who, after all, were not so very much to blame for the existing state of affairs, for they had only been helping to perpetuate an ancient



MISS ALYSE GREGORY

One of the most brilliant of the younger generation of American literary critics and exponents of feminism

and time-honored tradition. Grievances which had slumbered dumbly for years in the hearts of many women found expression in those familiar words “Votes for Women.” Like the women Christian martyrs of old, suffragettes went to prison with bright eyes and uplifted heads to suffer for what to them was a sort of religion. There was an element of hysteria in much of these suffrage demonstrations, but it was hysteria fomented by men’s unwillingness to listen to women’s pleas for justice, or to grant them so obvious a right as a vote in the Commonwealth whose laws they were expected to obey. Perhaps their very fierceness and gallantry appealed to the more spirited young girls of the day.

The mere gaining of the vote itself was of little importance compared to the effect

produced by such an educational campaign on the women of America and Great Britain. Economic independence became the secret quest of the younger generation of girls. Bernard Shaw in England, Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman in the United States, and Ellen Key in Scandinavia crystallized and presented in neat and quotable forms the arguments with which they sought to convince their elders. Still the genteel tradition remained—that of opposition to a girl's leaving home and earning her own living. It was made difficult for her to enter the professions. Teaching was scandalously underpaid. In the factories she received one-half the wages of the man beside her, although they were both doing exactly the same work. In spite of every obstacle, however, many girls brought up in well-to-do families did at the cost of estrangement from their parents seek posts as secretaries, stenographers, settlement workers, personnel managers and countless other positions where men did not too bitterly obstruct their entrance. Some of them even penetrated the ponderous, guarded doors of science, medicine and law.

EFFECT OF THE WAR

Then suddenly, like a bolt from the blue, war broke out, and their more decorous sisters who had been living contentedly at home were propelled with them on a wave of patriotism into the very front ranks of service for their country. They volunteered as ambulance drivers, Red Cross nurses and overseers for Y. M. C. A. entertainment camps. The vacuum of their lives was at last filled to overflowing with excitement and enough fear and horror to sear away frivolity. They saw their brothers or young men friends brought back from the front wounded or dying. They saw American soldiers with a curious sharp look in their eyes pursuing the demands of the flesh with little thought of consequences. If men were made to face death in the ranks, women were brought at last to face life in the depths of their own souls. They had seen what they had seen. In the case of two beautiful and sensitive young girls the sight had been in fact too much and robbed them of the desire of life. Every one will recall

the suicide of the two Cromwell sisters returning from Red Cross service near the front. In the home cities women were everywhere in demand to fill vacancies left by men. They obeyed only too willingly and found that feminine weakness was not quite as weak as had been supposed and that the hand that rocked the cradle could still wield heavy and intricate machinery.

GIRLS' NEW HABITS

Then suddenly all was changed again. The war was over and women were admonished to hurry once more home and give the men back their jobs. It was too late. The old discipline had vanished in the night. There was neither an avenging God nor an avenging father to coerce women back into their old places at the family board. They took flats or studios and went on earning their livings. They filled executive offices, they became organizers, editors, copywriters, efficiency managers, artists, writers, real estate agents, and even in rare instances brokers.

If materialistic science had undermined the conception of an all-seeing God, Freudian psychology directed people's attention to the fact that sex, whether obscurely lurking in the corridors of the unconscious, or outwardly seeking expression, was profoundly important and profoundly active. However unwilling one may be to acknowledge it, girls began to sow their wild oats. Women of the aristocratic upper classes and the poorest women had never followed too rigidly the cast-iron rules of respectability because in neither instance had they anything to lose by digressing. But for the first time in the memory of man, girls from well-bred, respectable middle-class families broke through those invisible chains of custom and asserted their right to a nonchalant, self-sustaining life of their own with a cigarette after every meal and a lover in the evening to wander about with and lend color to life. If the relationship became more intimate than such relationships are supposed to be, there was nothing to be lost that a girl could not well dispense with. Her employer asked no questions as to her life outside the office. She had her own salary at the end of the month and asked no other rec

ompense from her lover but his love and companionship. Into the privacy of her own snug and pleasant rooms not even her mother or her oldest brother could penetrate, for she and she alone, unless perhaps one other, carried the only key that would fit the lock.

Profoundly shocking as such a state of affairs may seem to large numbers of people, there is no use pretending that it does not exist. There are too many signs abroad to prove that it does. Ministers may extol chastity for women from pulpit, rostrums and quote passages from the Old and New Testaments to prove that purity and fidelity are still her most precious assets, but this new woman only shrugs her shoulders and smiles a slow, penetrating, secret smile.

MORE TOLERANT STANDARDS

This is not to imply that over vast stretches of the United States, and certainly in the small towns and villages, young girls and women in bourgeois homes are not living lives of impeccable chastity, but in the great cities in those circles where women from twenty-five to thirty-five can control their own purse strings many of them are apt to drift into casual or steady relationships with certain men friends which may or may not end in matrimony. Undoubtedly in time these men and women will rediscover that monogamy has after all its many advantages, but it is unlikely that the Western World will ever again ask of woman that strictness in behavior which it has never demanded

of men. On the other hand certain unfair privileges still accorded her under the law will undoubtedly be changed, as will those laws which discriminate against her.

It is all too true that these modern girls and women are often a little hard, aggressive and obvious, and lack that gentleness of bearing and softness of voice which are so pleasing to every one who prizes culture and hates the noise and chaos of modern, mechanized democracies. But they have, too, a certain fearlessness and gallantry, and not so very far beneath these startling upper layers, in a new coat of ironic indulgence, is hidden, one suspects, the old pity and understanding of the childlike vagaries of man. When also one compares them to their Victorian spinster prototypes, so meek and petulant and useless, venting their sex starvation on servants or relatives, profoundly and stupidly ignorant of everything but their own passing "migraines," parasites to the social body, one wonders if these practical, disillusioned, modern women, in spite of serious lapses, are not in the end of greater use to the community and to their friends.

Whether trial marriages between boys and girls will ever be tolerated in this country as they are in Scandinavia is problematic. Some people see in such arrangements an antidote for divorce, others a danger to the institution of matrimony. Certain it is, however, that this century is witnessing one of the most extraordinary and disturbing changes in the status of women that has so far taken place throughout the recorded history of man.



WOMEN IN GERMAN POLITICS

By ADELE SCHREIBER

An Austrian by birth and daughter of a well-known medical practitioner and scientist, Frau Schreiber began her career in literature and feminist propaganda at the age of 25, when she went to live in Berlin. Since then she has been a leading figure in the woman's movement, social welfare work and the campaign for better international understanding

The personalities and work of the thirty-five women members of the Reichstag—Achievements in social legislation—Woman suffrage a success in Germany and a step toward a better future

THE fact that there are thirty-five women in the German Reichstag is not due to the greater intelligence of German women. English women, who have only three members of Parliament, are surely as clever as we are, nor is there any lack of women qualified to serve as legislators in England or in the United States, or in any other modern civilized country. The secret lies in the German election system. We were enfranchised, not because of a victory won by suffragists, for this movement, in which I have been working for twenty years, was still rather weak in 1918. The enfranchisement of women came as a result of the revolution following the military collapse. The first thing the provisional Government of those days did in order to hand over the full power to a regular Government, was to call for a National Assembly, which made our new Constitution. But without waiting for the enactment of the Constitution, the Provisional Government granted to men and women over 20 years old suffrage on equal terms. Thus, forty-one women were returned as members of the National Assembly. Since it is not easy to take away rights that have once been granted, adult suffrage was embodied in the Constitution. When the elections for the first regular Reichstag of the republic took place on the same basis of proportional representation in June, 1920, we had thirty-five women returned.

Although the reactionary parties had been fighting women's rights most violently, laughing at suffragists and declaring that women in politics would ruin the family, endanger morality and bring about

every possible evil, the very moment that women had votes, the same reactionaries tried to make the best of it. They made their most courteous bows, declared that they had always known what wonderful beings women were, that they needed their help, and kindly invited them to work for their candidates in the election campaign, and immediately placed women on their lists. Germany is blessed with no fewer than nine parties in Parliament, with about twenty-seven altogether turning up at election time. All the parties represented in the House have women among their members. Proportional representation is favorable to women, and the only way of putting woman suffrage quickly into practice. It also makes an election campaign far less disagreeable, for there is nothing to be gained by attacking candidates personally. The list is elected, not the individual candidates, and, therefore, opponents must fight the list.

The thirty-five women in the Reichstag do not include many very striking personalities. There are some original women and some very deserving ones, but there is also a certain number of nobodies. On the whole, I should say that we are a dull lot. But it is not our fault. First of all, Germans as a whole are more thorough than amusing, and then whatever humor we may be endowed with has been almost killed by our sad situation. Our most brilliant wits have become solemn. Day by day they are acutely aware of the sufferings of the people, knowing that we strive in vain to prevent starvation and to better economic conditions. Our parliamentary

life seldom affords us an opportunity of laughing or even smiling.

The right side of the House is occupied by the Nationalist Party, still believing in the blessings of monarchy and militarism. There you will see a small, plump, white-haired little matron, Frau Behm. (In Parliament all women are called "Frau," whether married or not.) Little Frau Behm, now over 60, began her career as a teacher, and is known to all under the name of "Mother Behm." For twenty-five years she has devoted herself to the home workers, organizing many thousands of women in those badly paid, sweated industries, pleading for better conditions, and finally securing the passage of a bill instituting various reforms. Another woman among the four who belong to the Nationalist Party who is worth mentioning is Paula Müller. She, too, is nearly 60 years of age. Well educated and highly cultivated, she has long been at the head of the Protestant Women's Organization. Some years ago at a convention of the National Council of Women, I advocated woman suffrage, while Paula Müller opposed it in accordance with the attitude then adopted

by the Protestant Women's Organization. When I met her in the House, after we had been elected, I said: "Here you are, a member of the Reichstag! Don't you remember our last fight on woman suffrage?" "Well, you would not believe it," she replied, "but I am still against it!" Yet she makes a good member of the Reichstag, and on several occasions has stood for ideals on which women are united even against the attitude of her own party.

AN ELEGANT WIT

The German People's Party, which should be called a conservative party, has three women members, two of whom, both teachers, are very much in earnest, and one who is very amusing—Frau von Oheimb. She is often in revolt against her own party and takes her own line in voting. With no great training in public life before her election, she does not lack common sense and wit. The men like her as an elegant, well-dressed lady, who entertains in a most amiable way at her house, lives in a very fashionable style, and successfully manages her own big factories.

The so-called Centre, or Catholic, Party has always known how to adapt itself in time to inevitable development. Its workers are well trained, and so are its women parliamentarians, among whom should be mentioned Hedwig Dransfeld, the able leader of the Catholic Women's Organization, who has been a teacher in a nuns' convent for many years and who has recently visited the United States, and Frau Neuhaus, our oldest woman member of the Reichstag, who is nearly 70, and who has devoted most of her life to charity work, especially to the care of morally endangered girls.

A large number of our women politicians come from the teaching profession, which was the first opened to women in Germany. There is, for example, Dr. Gertrude Bäumer of the Democratic Party, whose name is known in the United States as the former President of the National Council of Women, and a prominent feminist. She occupies an influential and responsible post in the education department of the Ministry of the Interior. The other woman member of the Democratic Party,



ADELE SCHREIBER
Member of the German Reichstag

Dr. Marie Elisabeth Lüders, equally well known in the feminist movement, is physically the biggest woman in the House. Intellectually also she is not small, for the men are rather afraid of her sharp, sarcastic criticisms.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

The largest party in the Reichstag is that of the Social Democrats, of which I am a member, because women who stand for progress and believe in the development of a democratic German Republic could hardly find another party more in accord with their ideals. The Social Democrats have prevented Germany from going to extremes. They constitute a party of order, opposed to violent measures, and strongly advocate education and evolution. Although many intellectuals have joined the party, the great majority of its members, including the women, come directly from the working class. Besides myself, there are just a few who have come from intellectual professions, for instance, Toni Pfülf, an able and clever woman, looking so original with her curly short hair and short-waisted gowns. The daughter of an officer, she was a teacher who was driven by the social misery she came across to take up the claims of the disinherited. Then there is the other Toni, Frau Sender, a good-looking little girl, with dark hair and eyes. She has done secretarial and editorial work. Though 34, she looks like 25. But most of the other women among the Social Democrats have come from labor. This dark woman with the energetic face, Frau Juchaez, one of the leading labor women, was a domestic servant in her young days, and this lively, black-haired little woman, whom nobody would believe a grandmother, Frau Schilling, has earned not only her own living as a tobacco worker, but also supported a large family of six children. Imagine what energy it needs to go on learning and reading under such circumstances, after only having visited a simple country school, to give night hours to instruction, while the daytime is absorbed by the threefold task of wage earning, motherhood and household work. Some of our women have been clerks; some have worked at the sewing machine, the printing press, or the weaver's frame. Many of them continue even

now their exhausting household work, washing, cooking, and sewing for their families, besides sitting in Parliament. Owing to the economic breakdown of Germany, the salary of a member of the Reichstag is so small that it is impossible to pay for household help.

The Communists have only a small group of eleven in the Reichstag. Our Social Democracy, rejecting dictatorship and wishing progress to come by the decision of majorities, stands for democratic government. Thus it is absolutely against Russian Bolshevism, which the Communists admire and support.

Yet they speak as much as if they were 400, but before an empty House! The group has only one head, and it is that of a woman—Clara Zetkin, a most striking personality. Whenever the small, asthmatic, white-haired little woman begins to talk, she has the ear of the House, though her voice has become hoarse, and her praise of Russia as an earthly paradise is no longer believed. She speaks from a high level, and every word gives evidence of a good education. She also was a teacher, trained in Germany and at the University of Paris.

SUFFRAGE A SUCCESS

It has often been asked what is the special part played by the women in the Reichstag. The answer is that we are working just as the men are. We have equal representation on all committees, but naturally we prefer to serve on those which need the special understanding of women and mothers. A number of the laws passed during recent years show the distinct co-operation of women, for example, our excellent new law to promote child welfare with its great improvements in regard to illegitimate children, our new laws for juvenile courts, the protection of motherhood, social hygiene and prostitution. Women have stimulated and aided progress in all these questions, but please understand that they also fully share the responsibilities in the larger national and international issues.

Woman suffrage has already been a success in Germany. It is some consolation to us at international meetings, where we mix with women of wealthier and happier



P. & A.

A group of German women who have initiated a movement to uphold the sanctity of marriage and promote peace by love and kindness parading in Berlin

countries, that notwithstanding our poverty and hardships, we have gone ahead in progressive legislation. At the pre-war international conventions, we German women had no public rights; now we not only have more women in the Reichstag than there are in any other national legislature, but we are no less strongly represented in the Diets of the different States and municipalities of Germany, and we can point to very good work in public administration, scientific activity and the large sphere of social welfare.

Women in all countries ought to work for international understanding against militarism, for real justice against oppression of any kind. At the present moment, the women voters of America have a great

task lying before them. It might become the greatest deed in history, if they could induce their country to take the leadership in the reconstruction of Europe. Europe needs the support of other continents. Especially in Germany, there is immense suffering among women and children. What an achievement if women could be the instrument of a new peace! When I was in Rome for the last International Suffrage Convention (on whose board I have worked many years), the hope came to me that American women would not remain inactive, and that they, at least, will not say "never mind what is going on in Europe." I have firm belief in my sex. Women only need awakening. They are the great still unknown force of the future.

THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE TYPEWRITER

By ALAN C. REILEY

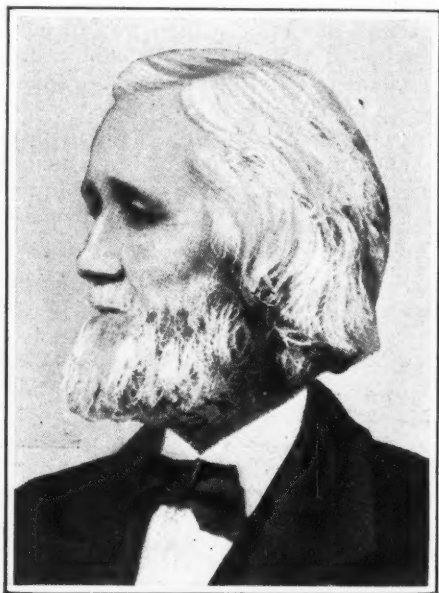
Author of "The Story of the Typewriter, 1873-1923," published
by the Herkimer County (N. Y.) Historical Society

*The writing machine of today the invention of Christopher Latham Sholes
—Far-reaching effect upon business life—The important social develop-
ment brought about by helping women toward economic independence*

THE fiftieth anniversary of the advent of the first practical writing machines, which was celebrated in September of this year, commemorated a half cycle without a parallel in the history of human progress. It has been marked by an extraordinary expansion of the world's commercial activities, typified in our own country by the evolution of the sky-scraping office building. It has seen the complete remaking of our entire system of secondary education, with the commercial school as an essential, if not its principal, feature. It has drawn the whole world closer together by that simplest of all agencies, the greater facility of intercommunication. Above all, it has witnessed the triumph of that great social movement known as feminism in its principal phase, the economic emancipation of women through their universal participation in business life.

The prominent identification of the typewriter with each and every one of these developments is obvious. In all human likelihood they would have been impossible without the typewriter. But to call them the product of the typewriter is hardly accurate, for this would be transposing the logical sequence of cause and effect. The writing machine, like every other mechanical labor-saving device of our day, is the outgrowth of human needs, and when the need becomes urgent the machine is summoned through the creative effort of human will. It is this simple fact which explains why the typewriter came when it did and why it could not have come before. Had it come earlier, it would have been still-born, even as the

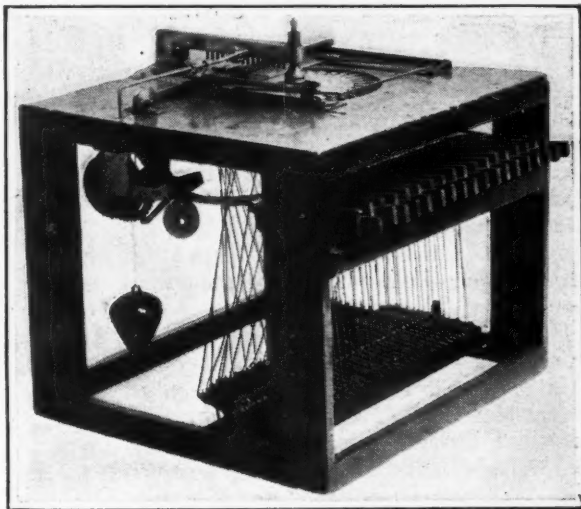
art of printing was still-born in China, where it is said to have been invented ages before the days of Gutenberg. Considering the important part which the typewriter has played in all these latter-day business and social developments, it is surprising how little has been printed concerning its history. Even the name of its inventor, Christopher Latham Sholes, is little known today in the great world of business, which is dependent upon his invention, and it is hardly better known to the millions of women who owe their economic independence to his efforts. Although the typewriter in its practical form



CHRISTOPHER LATHAM SHOLES
Inventor of the first practical typewriter

is only fifty years old, we must go much further back in order to trace the genesis of the idea. The first man, so far as we know, who conceived the idea of mechanical writing was Henry Mill, an English engineer, who flourished in the reign of Queen Anne. But he left no record of his invention save a description of its purpose contained in a patent which was granted in the year 1714, but which never came to anything.

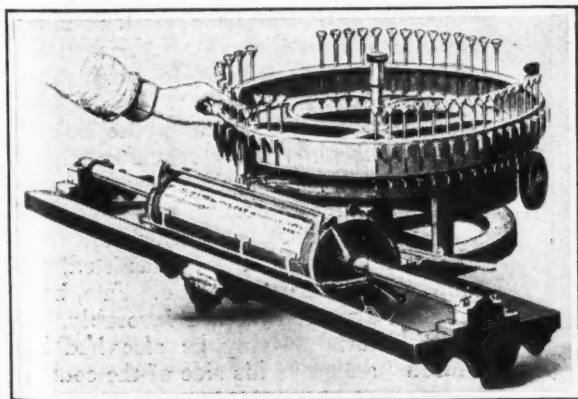
The idea of recording thought at higher than ordinary writing speed is ages older than Henry Mill or any conception of mechanical writing. Abbreviated writing, or shorthand, as we now call it, had its origin in antiquity. Marcus Tullius Tiro, a slave of Cicero, and afterward his secretary, invented a shorthand system which was widely used in ancient Rome, and the art in various forms was practiced through the Middle Ages and later times, until finally perfected in the Mid-Victorian period by Isaac Pitman and others, who introduced the modern principle of phonography. The inventors of this art, unknown to themselves, were the real prophets and forerunners of the writing machine. The present-day partnership between the "twin arts," shorthand and typewriting, was a necessity arising out of the very nature of their relationship. Shorthand, even as



Sholes, Glidden and Soule Mahcine—Patent of July 14, 1868

perfected by phonography, would have been restricted without the typewriter to a limited field of usefulness, and the writing machine, though in lesser degree, owes a similar obligation to shorthand. Thus it was that the first practical typewriter, when it made its appearance fifty years ago, found the way already prepared for its coming.

In the effort to invent a practical writing machine, Henry Mill seems to have found no imitators for more than a hundred years, and it was not until the nineteenth century that men began to give serious thought to the problem of mechanical writing. The first American patent was taken out in 1829 by William A. Burt of Detroit, afterward better known as the inventor of the solar compass. Other patents were granted to Xavier Projean of Marseilles, France, in 1833; to Charles Thurber of Worcester, Mass., in 1843; Pierre Foucault of Paris, in 1849; Oliver T. Eddy of Baltimore, in 1850; Alfred Ely Beach of New York, in 1856; Dr. Samuel W. Francis of New York, in 1857, and to nearly a dozen others during the following decade. The germ of many of the ideas contained in modern writ-



Thurber's machine, 1843

ing machines is traceable to one or another of these early efforts, but not one of these inventors succeeded in achieving the successful complex. These early machines could usually write, and some of them wrote surprisingly well, but, one and all, they were lacking in the prime essential, that of speed. The writing machine did not enter the practical stage until a machine had been invented which far surpassed in swiftness of writing the utmost possibilities of the pen.

The first practical typewriter was the creation of three men—Christopher Latham Sholes, Carlos Glidden and Samuel W. Soule—who began their combined efforts in a little machine shop in Milwaukee, Wis., in the Summer of the year 1867. Glidden had been working on a similar idea before his association with Sholes and Soule, and history gives him credit for suggesting the idea to his co-workers. Of the other two, Soule very soon dropped out of the enterprise. The central figure of this group was Sholes, a man of quite unusual character. A printer and newspaper editor by profession, he had long been prominent in the journalism and politics of Wisconsin, and in the year 1867, when the typewriter enters the story, he

held office as Collector for the Port of Milwaukee. But Sholes, in his personal tastes and aptitudes, was anything but a politician. Rather he was a gentle dreamer, given to visions of human utopias, but with a natural mechanical bent which had caused him more than once before to digress into the field of practical invention. But throughout his life he was frankly and consistently indifferent to worldly riches, and the truth seems to be that his faith in his own invention was of so fragile a kind that it required constant stimulus from his colleagues. In one of his letters, written as late as the year 1872, he expresses the fear that the typewriter, "like any other novelty, will have its brief day and be thrown aside." On the other hand, in describing his efforts to solve this or that mechanical problem, his letters are always enthusiastic, and it is in this fact that we find the real key to his achievement.

Glidden's confidence in the future of the typewriter was stronger, but the invincible courage which sustained the enterprise was supplied by James Densmore, who early in the year 1868 had purchased an interest in the new invention. His sustaining faith was sorely needed, for it took the inventors nearly six years of constant effort, during which time from twenty-five to thirty experimental models were built, before the machine had reached that stage of development where Densmore deemed the time ripe to search for a manufacturer. With this end in view, Densmore, early in 1873, visited the gun works of E. Remington & Sons at Ilion, Herkimer County, N. Y. Seemingly doubtful of his own powers of persuasion, he took along with him a friend, G. W. N. Yost, noted for his fluency of speech, to serve, as he expressed it, as "Aaron to his Moses." Philo Remington, the man whose interest they were seeking, was a manufacturer of experience, but those who knew him well have doubted whether he possessed that quality of imagination which would have enabled him to visualize, unassisted, the future of the writing machine. Fate, however, had arranged matters favorably, for at the historic meeting he also had his "Aaron" seated on his side of the council board. This man was Henry H. Benedict, who afterward became one of the founders



Miss Sholes, daughter of the inventor, writing on one of his experimental machines in 1872



Sholes and Glidden machine, 1873. This was the model shown by Densmore to the Remingtons which resulted in the historic typewriter contract

of the commercial success of the typewriter. After the first meeting, which was devoted to careful examination of the inventor's model, Philo Remington asked Benedict: "What do you think of it?" Benedict replied: "That machine is very crude, but there is an idea there that will revolutionize business. It is not necessary to tell these people that we are crazy over their invention, but I am afraid I am pretty nearly so." Thus was the die cast, and the historic contract was signed a few days later—on March 1, 1873. Actual manufacture began Sept. 12 of the same year, from which date begins the history of the typewriter as a practical machine.

Let no one assume, however, that a waiting world eagerly received the typewriter and that its advent was heralded in cable dispatches and newspaper headlines. The need for it was real enough, and, with the increase of all the world's activities, had been steadily growing for many years. But in practical experience there is a wide gulf between the reality of a need, and the consciousness of this need, taking form in an active demand. Hence it was that the typewriter made its advent quietly, unobtrusively, with an indifferent world to face. The early years were discouraging, marked at best by slow progress. It was not the machine alone that was new; the very idea it represented—that of clerical time and labor saving—was new to the world of fifty years ago. Under these conditions it

is not surprising that people found the price of the new machine a stumbling-block. It is even related that one of the early inventors strove in vain to build a machine that could be sold for \$5—oblivious of the fact that the time-saving superiority of the typewriter over old methods might easily be worth that much for every day of its service. We of today, to whom the value of business time is a commonplace, may find it hard to conceive of a time when this fact was so little understood. Yet it is only by such contrasts that the spirit of our own times can be clearly revealed to us.

The new machine naturally attracted attention of a sort. As a self-advertiser its advantages were obvious, but some of its



The first commercial typewriter—Model 1 Remington, Shop No. 1

early users found this quality an actual embarrassment. Mark Twain, one of the earliest buyers, called the machine a "curiosity breeding little joker." Others experienced unexpected reactions from thin-skinned persons who regarded "printed" letters, implying their inability to read pen writing, as a reflection on their education. Of trained operators there were none, and no systematized means for training them, for the schools of shorthand and typewriting, as we know them today, were a later creation of the writing machine. All these things came in time, but slowly, since it was necessary for the machine to create the conditions which would make possible the further extension of its use.

On the mechanical side the typewriter kept pace with its slow but steady growth in popularity. The original machine of fifty years ago was enclosed in a metal case, the carriage return was operated by a foot treadle and it wrote capital letters only. In the appearance of the first typewriter the sewing machine influence is plainly discernible. The first shift-key machine, writing both capitals and small letters, appeared in 1878, but the first machine with automatic ribbon reverse did not come until 1896. Visible writing in some of its forms came early, but the front-stroke visible writers, the standard type of construction today, did not begin to find a market until the late nineties. Quiet, or noiseless, typewriting is so recent that it belongs to the present stage of typewriting development. The first decimal tabulating typewriter appeared in 1898, to be followed in due course by the adding typewriter and the complete accounting machine. Portable typewriters are another recent development, the first machine of this type to attain prominence dating from the year 1912.

The collateral descendants of the original writing machine of fifty years ago are even more numerous. The Sholes and Glidden machine was more than the parent typewriter; it was the originator of the whole modern idea of clerical time and labor saving. Among the children of this idea are the adding machine, the duplicating machine, the addressing machine, the folding and stamping machine, the cash register and every other mechanical ap-



Model 1 Remington, exhibited at the Centennial Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876

pliance for the expediting of modern business. Some have even placed the linotype in the same line of descent, tracing the connection through James Ogilvie Clephane, one of the intimates of Sholes who afterwards became just as closely identified with Ottmar Mergenthaler. Although this source of the idea cannot be verified, the writing machine influence is plainly evident in some of the features of the modern typesetting machines.

The outstanding present-day fact about the typewriter is its universality. It is used for every purpose—the portable machines for personal writing, the standard machines for business writing, and the accounting machines for combined writing and adding, including every kind of form and statistical work. Extensively, the use of the typewriter is just as universal; how much so is little realized even in America, the land of its origin. The typewriter is in familiar use in every part of the earth, and it is estimated that not less than one hundred languages are typed today on the writing machine. Among these are many languages written in other than Roman characters and the typing of some of these languages, notably the Arabic group, presented problems which called for real inventive effort. At the present time only two important languages, Chinese and Japanese, remain outside the pale of the writing machine. Even in these coun-

tries, however, the machine has triumphed, for thousands of typewriters are used today by native Chinese and Japanese houses, and this use is one of the principal influences which is tending to make English the commercial language of the Far East. The schools of shorthand and typewriting have everywhere followed the typewriter, and their distribution today is about as universal as the machine itself. Nothing can surpass in interest the average school of shorthand and typewriting in the Asiatic countries where native operators are trained in the "twin arts." The linguistic genius of the Oriental is clearly illustrated by the fact that he is able to learn a foreign language so thoroughly that the shorthand of that language is easily mastered.

The influence of the typewriter on modern business, and, broadly speaking, on modern life, is so many sided that it is not easily appraised. That it has "freed the world from pen slavery," that it has facilitated the enormous growth of modern business, are facts so patent that they require no emphasis. Less evident to many is the future of the typewriter in the realm of education, but the remarkable results attained in the primary and secondary education of children in thousands of homes is a matter deserving consideration by teachers and pedagogues. But the most interesting phase of typewriter influence is on the social side, and in particular its identification with that great modern move-

ment known as feminism, since it has been the means by which the doors of business life have been opened to women. This fact is well known, but few indeed have considered its real importance in relation to the present and future of this great social development. The feminist movement has recently undergone some fundamental changes. Formerly it centred around the attainment of the suffrage. Now it seems likely to adopt the broader slogan of "equal rights." Yet it is doubtful if any of the feminist leaders, past or present, have seen clearly the extent to which the economic factor has figured in all these strivings. It could easily be shown that economic independence was essential to the attainment of every other aim and object. Such independence could be obtained only in one way—through the free entrance of women into business life, and the opportunity for this entrance was provided by the writing machine.

Needless to say, this development, like so many others, was unforeseen by its inventors, but Sholes lived long enough to perceive it, and this knowledge formed the chief interest of his later years. In one of the last letters he ever wrote Sholes says: "Whatever I may have felt in the early days of the value of the typewriter, it is obviously a blessing to mankind and especially to womankind. I am glad I had something to do with it. I builded wiser than I knew, and the world has the benefit of it."



INSULIN—SCIENCE'S NEW CURE FOR DIABETES

By JAMES A. TOBEY

Washington Representative of the National Health Council

*The discovery of insulin an epoch in the history of medicine
—Pancreatic extract now being manufactured on a wide scale
revolutionizing the treatment of diabetes—Its uses and limitations*

MEDICAL history has been made by the discovery and use of the substance called insulin. For the first time a remedy has been developed for the treatment of diabetes. In this capacity insulin stands in the forefront of recent medical discoveries. Much has appeared in the scientific journals concerning this new remedy and much has been written about it in the newspapers and magazines. Some of the latter material has been a trifle lurid and not all that has been written has been scientific. The gist of the whole insulin situation is contained in the excellent report of the Insulin Committee of the University of Toronto, which appeared in the Journal of the American Medical Association for June 23, 1923. A summary of this report and abstracts of certain other technical articles, shorn of all the medical terminology which confuses the layman, is presented herewith in order to give an impartial statement regarding this valuable addition to medical science.

Diabetes is a disease caused by the inability of the body to utilize sufficiently certain necessary food substances, known as carbohydrates. These carbohydrates, of which the starch in potatoes is an example, circulate in the blood of persons having diabetes and are passed from the body in the urine in the form of sugar, thus being lost to the body as a necessary source of energy. The particular organ of the body which nature apparently intended to accomplish the function of converting these carbohydrate foods into energy-making substances is a gland known as the pancreas, which is situated near the stomach. Scattered through one end of it are groups

of cells which are called, after their discoverer, the "Islands of Langerhans." It has been found by experiments on dogs that when these "islands" fail to do their duty, diabetes results.

Although this fact has been known to physiologists for some time, it remained for Dr. Frederick G. Banting to evolve by experimentation, again using dogs, a method whereby an extract could be pre-



DR. F. G. BANTING

The Canadian medical scientist who has discovered insulin as a cure for diabetes and to whom the Canadian Government has granted an annuity of \$7,500 to enable him to carry on his research work

pared from the pancreatic glands of animals for use in human beings. This he accomplished in 1921, working in collaboration with C. H. Best. The original extract contained irritating substances. A purer essence was obtained with the assistance of J. B. Collin. The name "insulin" had previously been suggested by Sir E. Sharpey Shafer.

Experiments were next conducted at clinics in Canada and the United States to test the efficiency of the remedy. It was found to give remarkable results. Arrangements were accordingly made to have it manufactured in quantity. For this purpose Dr. Banting took out patents in Canada and the United States, and requested the Board of Governors of the University of Toronto to accept them and administer them for the benefit of humanity. The university appointed an Insulin Committee, which, in order that the remedy might be produced on a large scale, agreed to permit the Eli Lilly Company, a reputable manufacturer of biological products, to make insulin and distribute it at cost price. Large scale production has, accordingly, been carried on at high speed.

Insulin is given to a diabetic patient by injection under the skin. It restores to the body the lost ability to change the carbohydrates into the chemicals necessary for vitality. It is especially useful in severe cases and allows the patient to enjoy a more palatable diet, and one that meets the requirements of the body at rest in bed. Insulin cannot, however, replace the dietetic treatment. Before insulin was discovered the only known way to treat diabetes was by a close attention to special dietary methods. In the mild forms of the disease a properly balanced diet is sufficient without the use of insulin. Where insulin is used, the diet must also be regulated and adapted to the dosage. The use

of insulin, however, does not permit a patient to go out and eat everything he pleases. The results of its use are generally favorable, and some patients have been able to resume their former occupation after a month's treatment.

The administration of insulin requires considerable care, as overdosage is followed by serious symptoms demanding immediate attention. Indiscriminate use is a source of danger. The general practitioner can use the remedy, but it is necessary for him to spend some time in learning the diabetic diet and the technique of the use of the insulin. An intelligent patient may learn to use it and may also study his diet requirements by spending several weeks at a hospital under strict observation. He may later check up on his condition by frequent urine tests, and may also have blood sugar tests.

The advantages of insulin are, then, that it is the best and most effective known remedy for diabetes, that it is easily administered, the patient himself frequently being capable of doing it; that it allows use of a better diet; that it is available in quantity at a reasonable cost.

The limitations are that it is not a cure, but a remedy or palliative; that it cannot and does not replace diet treatment; that it must be intelligently administered.

There is only one insulin and it is called by that name, or "iletin" (Insulin-Lilly). No other preparations alleged to cure or relieve diabetes are worth anything, though several have been exploited.

Insulin represents a dramatic addition to medical science. Though further studies on the cause of diabetes, its prevention, the origin of insulin, its production and action must be carried on, what has already been accomplished is a notable achievement and a real contribution to human progress.

MONTHLY SURVEY OF WORLD EVENTS

[Continued from Page 179]

Congress of Sam B. Hill, Democrat, from the Spokane district of Washington by a close vote and the statement of Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania (Sept. 27) that he was not concerning himself about the Presidential nomination. It is as yet not clear whether Pinchot or any one else will attempt to form an opposition to the re-nomination of President Coolidge. No other New England or New York candidate has appeared, and there seems no present crystallization around Hiram Johnson of California, Robert La Follette of Wisconsin or William E. Borah of Idaho. Similar uncertainty prevails in the Democratic camp.

In general foreign policy, the President and Secretary Hughes stand closely on the lines laid down during Harding's Administration. The President holds to the same expectation of ultimate payment of the debts due from foreign countries to the United States. He also declines to take any responsibility for settling the question of the German reparations. Regarding the World Court there is no definite announcement, but Secretary Hughes holds open his plans for a world business commission to ascertain the ability of Germany to pay. The warm interest shown by the United States toward the sufferers by the Japanese earthquake has touched the heart of Japanese statesmen.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

The greatest interruption of orderly government since Sept. 16 is within the territory ruled by our American Republic, in the Philippine Islands. The effort to drive Governor General Wood out of office is closely interwoven with the movement for independence, which is based on the Jones act of 1916, promising independence to the islands "as soon as a stable Government is established therein." As Governor General for a second time Wood has exercised the powers of his office, as stated in the Jones act, to reduce expenses, to cut down the public debt and to restore the impaired credit of the Insular Gov-

ernment. When the members of the Philippines Commission resigned as a protest against Wood's action, he remained steadfast.

In the last month the controversy has taken a new form through a test of strength made over the election of a member to the Philippine Senate. Quezon, long the popular leader, put forward Fernandez as the candidate of the "Independence Party." The so-called "Democrats," many of whom are in favor of ultimate independence, put up Sumulong. Contrary to expectation, Sumulong got 42 per cent. of the large vote cast; which makes it clear that a considerable element in the islands does not support the extreme independence leaders.

Quezon insists that the veto of the Governor General, clearly defined in the Jones act, has no force; because not in accordance with the theory of the separation of powers. At last accounts the ultra-Filipinos threaten to ignore the Governor General, and are dispatching a new envoy to the United States, hoping to arouse a public sentiment which shall result in turning the islands over to the Filipinos. President Coolidge shows no disposition to withdraw support from General Wood, or to recommend immediate independence. It was reported on Oct. 13 that native revolutionary societies, numbering 250,000 members, had amalgamated into one unit, that there was unrest in the Philippine constabulary, and that many Americans in Manila were apprehensive of an uprising.

STATE AND LOCAL AFFAIRS

During the early Fall, when the Legislatures are not in session, little occurs in local or State Government that must be set down as part of our essential national history. A difficulty has arisen in the new plan for utilizing the waters of the Colorado River because the State of Arizona has declined to ratify the joint State agreement and proposes a different plan, against which Colorado strongly protests. In Indiana Governor McCray has been under

fire on charges that he had borrowed money on personal security from the Indiana State Department. He declares that the loan was legal and has been repaid. Previous experiences in Illinois and elsewhere show the need of absolute peremptory laws against any public official making use of State funds for his benefit or that of his friends.

An uproar was caused in New York City (Oct. 1) over the announcement that the total assessment on real estate had been raised from \$10,000,000,000 to over \$12,000,000,000. Property owners at once protested, and tenants were urged to resist the payment of rents which might make good the increase in taxes.

MARTIAL LAW IN OKLAHOMA

For the first time in many years a serious contest involving force has arisen within a State Government. The Governor and the members of the Legislature in Oklahoma have come almost to an armed contest. The trouble came to a head about Sept. 16, when Governor Walton declared martial law in parts of the State, particularly in Oklahoma City, where the City Government was superseded. The precise issue centred around the Governor's brief that the Ku Klux Klan was endeavoring to get possession of the State Government, and that a majority of the members of the Legislature (not then in session) were members of the Ku Klux and would back it up.

Under the Constitution, as it then stood, no special session of the Legislature could be called except by the Governor. The members, however, insisted that they had a right to summon themselves. This meant a superseding of the civil government, including the judiciary, by martial law, which has occasionally been resorted to in States as a part of the Governor's power as Commander-in-Chief of the militia, and of his duty to see the laws executed.

The result was scenes resembling those of the Brooks-Baxter war in 1876 in the neighboring State of Arkansas. Martial law was proclaimed for the whole State (Sept. 18), though not really made general, in protest against the "self-styled Invisible Empire." On Sept. 26 a body of the members of the Legislature made their

appearance at the door of their legislative hall and retired when halted by a military officer without using force. In a special election, held on Oct. 9, the main issue was a pending referendum, authorizing the members of the Legislature to summon themselves without the authority of the Governor.

The State was rent in twain, the Governor insisting that the purpose of the Ku Klux Klan was to impeach and disgrace him, so as to get control of the Government for the Klan's own purposes. The legislators insisted that the Governor was trying to establish a personal and arbitrary government.

The courts were appealed to by both sides, but contented themselves with negative orders and injunctions, which permitted the election to take place. The disputed amendment was carried by an overwhelming vote. Both parties were undoubtedly influenced by the fear that if there should be any serious armed struggle, the Federal Government might intervene, as it did several times in Reconstruction times, either on the call of one of the two parties to the strife, or on its own initiative, under the obligation to assure to every State "a republican form of government." At this writing the Legislature was in special session convened by the Governor for the purpose of passing anti-Ku Klux Klan laws, but the body took the initiative out of his hands and its first action was to take preliminary steps looking to his impeachment.

SOCIAL QUESTIONS

Among the serious catastrophes of the year must be reckoned the fire which (Sept. 17) destroyed a part of the City of Berkeley, Cal., with a loss of about \$10,000,000. No lives were lost. A recent report shows that more than 75,000 people in the United States were killed by accident within the last twelve months, a large number from motor accidents, due in scores of thousands of cases to reckless driving.

Two Americans who occupied considerable places in the minds of their countrymen during the month were Mayor Hylan of New York, because of his severe illness, and Magnus Johnson, recently elected Senator from Minnesota, who made speeches in various places and conferred with the

President. Among foreign visitors the most distinguished were Count Apponyi, a Hungarian magnate, who arrived on Oct. 2, and Lloyd George, former British Prime Minister, who arrived on Oct. 5 and made a tour through the United States and Canada, with numerous informal addresses.

The memory of a distinguished American, James Oglethorpe, founder of the Colony of Georgia and long buried in Cranham, England, has been revived by the application to disinter his body and return it to Georgia, on the unusual grounds that he "was the first great anti-slavery advocate in America and the first prohibitionist in the United States."

The question of immigration remains perplexing. The race of steamers to be first to berth and land passengers in New York within the quota has been ended by an amicable agreement between the Immigration Department and the steamship lines by which steamers were to enter at intervals. The Ellis Island question, which was accentuated by the unfavorable report of Auckland Geddes, British Ambassador to the United States, is still unsettled.

The Ku Klux Klan continues much in evidence in various parts of the country, extending as far as Maine and Florida. During the last month they have attempted to raise the "fiery cross" and have taken in members in Long Island and Massachusetts. To demonstrate what it regards as its dominating position in the Southwest, the Klan arranged for a monster mobilization of members at Dallas, Texas, on Oct. 24, that date to be "Klan Day" at the Texas State Fair. In New York the Klansmen are reported to ignore the recent State law requiring all societies of their general nature to file copies of their constitution and other documents and also rolls of membership. An organization which sets out to punish vice by vicious methods, which hides the identity of those engaged in acts of violence and protects evildoers who act under its orders has no place in a country proud of its free Government.

THE POPULATION

In spite of all pretenses that there is no crime wave in the United States, the whole country is daily made aware of the presence of fierce and desperate criminals. In

Kentucky, early in October, three convicts killed a guard in an attempt to escape and succeeded for several days in barricading themselves in the prison buildings. In Chicago Mayor Dever is relentlessly disciplining the police who will not enforce the law, and has driven many of them out of the service.

Liquor thefts, attacks on messengers carrying money and hold-ups of trains are events of frequent occurrence. (Celebrated and sensational murder cases, for obvious reasons, are not included here.) Toward the end of September, a band of forty men near Philadelphia made an attack on a warehouse of a distillery, carrying off fifty barrels of liquor. The frequent hold-ups of paymasters and messengers carrying currency, even though there were armed guards in the same vehicle, by men who escape in automobiles, shows that there is need for some kind of systematic restraint on fast running in cities. The Philadelphia incident and the hold-up of a train near Redding, Cal., on Oct. 11, when members of the train crew were murdered and the mail car was looted, are additional evidences that some new system must be devised to meet what are practically the armed attacks of professional bandits.

Excitement over the presence of professional Communists who are driving their propaganda through the United States still continues. Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor, warned the country on Oct. 1 that there was a systematic effort to poison the minds of the men in the labor unions. At the same time he insisted upon the reform of child labor and the breaking up of the Ku Klux Klan. At the convention of the American Federation at Portland on Oct. 1-3 several known Communists were excluded.

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ISSUES

Several very serious economic questions are now disturbing the country, and are bound to come before Congress at its next session. The first of these is the continued distressed condition of the farmers in general and particularly of wheat farmers. Their troubles go back to the period immediately following the World War, when the demand for foodstuffs suddenly fell

off while the cost of the farmers' purchases rose. The total export of food raised in the United States is probably not more than a tenth of the total output; but that tenth, through competition in the world market, helps to fix the selling price of the whole crop. President Coolidge recognizes the seriousness of the trouble and has discussed it with many callers. A Cabinet meeting was devoted to this subject on Sept. 18.

Some aid to the farmer has been given by the special farm credit banks recently created by Congress. The attention of the farmers is called by political leaders, particularly by the heads of the farm bloc, of whom the chief is Senator Capper, to the bad effect of the loss of buying power in Europe, combined with the competition of the increasing European crops. At the same time the farmer who raises products for the city markets is enraged at the middleman's large slice of the proceeds.

Among the proposed remedies for the farmers' condition is raising the duty on imported wheat from 30 cents to 45 cents a bushel. Secretary of Agriculture Wallace suggested on Sept. 25 to cut down the freight rates on farm products about one-fourth. A third remedy lately laid before President Coolidge is to "stabilize" wheat, presumably through cash bonuses or the fixing of a minimum price. It was announced on Oct. 2 that the President looks for a remedy under the present laws which he thinks may better the present situation without new legislation.

Another serious issue is the "coal question," which this season means practically the high price and short supply of hard coal, especially in the Eastern cities. A special coal commission, appointed by President Harding, under the Chairmanship of John Hays Hammond, has recently made several reports. It held in that issued on Sept. 19 that "labor disturbances are the most serious obstacle to the superabundant production of coal." In its final report, issued on Oct. 3, the commission found that "the fundamental evil in the anthracite industry is that of monopoly." Whatever the cause, it is a fact that 300,000 orders for hard coal in New York City remained unfilled on Sept. 27.

As there seemed no other way of settling the deadlock between operators and men,

President Coolidge designated Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania as a special Commissioner, and he brought about a settlement on the basis of an increase of about 20 per cent. in the miners' wages.

A third serious question is that of labor and the relations of labor to employers. The annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at Portland, Ore., on Oct. 1-4 was very enthusiastic on the growing power of organized labor. The principle of national unions was strengthened by the pressmen's strike in New York City, which lasted from Sept. 19 to 26. Practically all the leading daily papers were held up by a strike of the local union against the express orders of the international union. The higher body canceled the charter of the lower and made direct terms with the publishers, under which nearly all the men returned to work, but only as members of the international union.

A fourth question is that of prohibition, or rather of its enforcement. In New York the repeal of the Mullan-Gage law has weakened the efforts to suppress bootlegging and open saloon sale through Federal authority. The local police have, however, co-operated in the conflict. The recent New Jersey Republican Convention came out distinctly on the dry side; and the Democratic Convention, though decidedly wet, passed rather a neutral resolution. President Coolidge openly expressed himself on Sept. 14 as being behind Prohibition Commissioner Haynes in his seizures and prosecutions in the various parts of the country. Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania, as the chief speaker in Washington on Oct. 14 before the Citizenship Conference, called upon President Coolidge to take personal charge of the enforcement of national prohibition, as President Washington had taken charge of law enforcement in the days of the Whisky Rebellion in Pennsylvania. In his speech, which he read with deliberation, the Governor, who is making prohibition a leading issue in Pennsylvania, handled the subject without mincing words. He declared that Federal officials were encouraging the breaking of the law and that the Federal authorities were responsible for illegal liquor coming into the country, while some enforcement officials were act-

ing as graft collectors. Governor Pinchot suggested that the law could not be enforced until the prohibition enforcement service was taken out of politics.

A new industry has arisen in the systematic robbing of bootleggers by organized bandits, the victims being in no situation to avail themselves of the protection of the law. Public sentiment is still divided in the States which had no prohibition laws before the enactment of the Eighteenth Amendment. A speaker at a convention of the Retail Druggists in Boston on Sept. 26 called on the fifty thousand retailers in the country to "understand what to do when [they] vote for President again." Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania, on Oct. 2, set out to close 1,300 bars in Philadelphia by holding the owners of the real estate responsible for the breach of the law. The question of maintaining the Volstead law is bound to come up in some form before Congress; but there is no evidence of a majority sufficient to weaken the present laws, or that either the Harding or Coolidge Administration has lost public support by an unyielding attitude on the enforcement of the law.

TRANSPORTATION

The Federal Government has been working without much success on the problem of American shipping. Little progress has

been made in disposing of the Government fleet of ships, which, according to the Shipping Board on Sept. 7, is now valued at \$230,000,000, with additional property worth \$170,000,000. The Lasker-Farley plan for setting up local corporations to take over and operate the ships was dashed by the official opinion of Attorney General Daugherty on Sept. 20 that such corporations would be illegal. Nor has the rival plan of leasing ships to private owners met with success.

The revaluation of railroad property, which has been going on since 1913, is being at last completed. The work has cost \$67,000,000, according to a preliminary report of Sept. 15. No statement is made as to the total of the valuation, but it is intimated that it is about \$12,000,000,000. In New England a fierce contest is in progress between a project for creating a New England system, which will include all or most of the lines east of New York State, and a rival plan for dividing the roads among two or more central trunk lines, with no result as yet. The Baltimore & Ohio Road has countered the New York Central's proposition for a new trunk line from New York to Chicago through Central Pennsylvania by suggesting that the line from Chicago to Western Pennsylvania be made a part of the Baltimore & Ohio system.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

By ARTHUR LYON CROSS

Hudson Professor of English History, University of Michigan

AT the present writing three outstanding problems which confront Great Britain are: The occupation of the Ruhr, the Imperial Conference and the persistent unemployment. Since the two former are dealt with in special articles, only the third need be considered here. It is most baffling in its extent, in the complexity of its causes and in the apparent hopelessness of any immediate solution. On Sept. 20 there were 1,233,300 out of work, and while this was nearly 300,000 less than at the beginning of the year, there is the gloomy prospect that the number may swell again to 1,500,000 by Christmas. Even those in the receipt of salaries or incomes are hard pressed owing to the continued high cost of living and crushing taxes. Attempts to reduce wages, fol-

lowing a slight drop in the index figures, have led to discontent and occasional strikes. Not long ago the Hull dockers sent a delegation to the Ministry of Labor to learn how the averages were computed, and, without presuming to dispute the findings, insisted that the drop in prices had not reached the small shops, where most of the workers do their trading.

The Bradford Chamber of Commerce recently indicated in a convincing manner the chief factors contributing to the depression, namely, restricted markets due to the deplorable conditions in Europe, competition from Continental countries where depreciated currency prevails, and the further disadvantage of dear labor at home, caused partly by still existing profiteering in foodstuffs, partly by a policy of ca-canny based

on the mistaken idea that slacking results in more work for everybody. Sir Arthur Balfour (not to be confused with Lord Balfour) while stressing the latter cause, points out further that there are 750,000 more men in England than there were before the war, during which period emigration practically stopped. It is generally conceded that doles have tended to pauperize the recipients, and Mr. Clynes, among others, has urged that money be appropriated for repairing and rebuilding public works, arguing that one pound a week for productive results is better than ten shillings with nothing to show for the expenditures. As a matter of fact, in two months some 2,000 schemes have been suggested by local authorities requiring grants amounting to £21,000,000. The Cabinet Committee on Unemployment has proposed loans of 50 per cent., amounting to £10,000,000, for tramways, gas, water and other public works, whether undertaken by the local authorities or by private enterprise. At the same time, it is hinted that the railroads are "sitting on" £131,000,000 in the hope that prices may fall. Emigration has been proposed as another way out. The Empire Settlement act of 1922 was designed to this end, but up to July, 1923, only 25,918 had started overseas and out of £3,000,000 available for the current year only £119,534 had been spent in assisting emigrants. A serious difficulty lies in the fact that the dominions, while thinly peopled, want chiefly farmers, or potential farmers, preferably with capital.

A deputation from the farmers of England, Scotland and Wales called on Premier Baldwin on Oct. 11 and told him that unless the Government came to their assistance they would be forced to reduce greatly the acreage now under cultivation and thousands of laborers would have to be turned away. The Premier asked for further information before announcing the Government's policy.

The Trade Union Congress, which met at Plymouth, Sept. 5 to 8, through their National Unemployed Workers, called on the Government to promote practical schemes of public utility as an alternative to payments for unemployment benefit and poor relief; however, they offered no construction projects of their own. With a membership nearly double that just before the war—4,369,000 in 1923, as against 2,230,000 in 1913—the unions have lost some 2,000,000 members in two years, a further striking evidence of hard times. Attempts to recruit their depleted ranks have led to unseemly wrangles on the part of rival organizations accusing each other of filching members. The President of the congress, while asserting that capital had shown little change of heart during the recent fateful years, nevertheless maintained that arbitration and conciliation were better means than strikes for se-

curing better conditions. The delegates demanded resumption of full diplomatic and trade relations with Russia, called for the intervention of the League of Nations in the conflict between Italy and Greece, and appealed to French and Belgian workers to oppose the policy of their respective Governments in the Ruhr. Although *The Daily Herald* has been run at a loss of about £100,000 since it was taken over as the official organ of the Labor Party, the congress decided to contribute toward its support for at least three months.

Late in August, after Reginald McKenna, for reasons of ill health, finally refused the post, Mr. Baldwin handed over the Chancellorship of the Exchequer to Neville Chamberlain, who as Minister of Public Health has done much to improve the housing situation, notwithstanding the protest of the Trade Union Congress that the Government still failed to meet the needs of large numbers of working-class families or to protect them adequately against excessive rents.

The death on Sept. 23 of Viscount Morley in his eighty-fifth year removes a notable veteran in the field of letters and politics. At the outbreak of the war, shrinking from what he regarded as a "heart-breaking setback to human progress," he resigned from the Cabinet; nevertheless, Mr. Asquith in his recent book on the "Genesis of the War" loyally refers to him as his first political mentor and ever a trusted friend.

Rudyard Kipling was installed on Oct. 10 as Lord Rector of St. Andrews University, Scotland, in succession to Sir James Barrie, in the presence of a distinguished company, including his cousin, Premier Baldwin, upon whom a degree was conferred, and Lord Haig, who is Chancellor of the university.

Details of the sale of Sir Edward Hulton's newspaper interests to Lords Rothermere and Beaverbrook were published on Oct. 12. It was announced that *The Daily Mail* Trust, which was formed in September of last year, had bought the whole business of Sir Edward Hulton & Co. for £6,000,000, except *The Evening Standard*, in which it will hold only a 49 per cent. interest, Lord Beaverbrook having acquired the balance of 51 per cent. The newspapers which thus passed under the control of Lord Rothermere include *The London Daily Sketch*, *Illustrated Sunday Herald*, *Manchester Daily Dispatch*, *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, *Manchester Sunday Chronicle* and *The Empire News*.

The arrival on Oct. 5 of Mr. Lloyd George brings to America a visitor with a wizard's gift of divining and influencing public opinion. The former Premier came out as the advocate of an Anglo-American entente cordiale in the interest of world peace in a newspaper interview given Oct. 11 on his special train from

Toronto to Niagara Falls. The last shot in any war would have been fired, he said, if the world could be brought to understand that the United States and Great Britain were joined in a compact to ward off future wars. He did not advocate an alliance, he explained, but an unwritten pledge. In an address in Toronto the day before he had sounded the warning that the world had not seen the last war.

Mr. Lloyd George's departure from England at a critical stage, with the breach between the Independent and the National Liberals, has aroused some resentment among certain members of his party, particularly since their chief whip started about the same time for Czechoslovakia. The emergence of a group of British Fascists, who on Sept. 19 sent a cordial message to Mussolini, adds a new element to the already complicated party situation.

IRELAND

THE Irish Free State elections held in twenty-six southern counties late in August passed off on the whole with commendable quietness and a gratifying absence of fraud. Out of 153 seats the Government secured sixty-three, the Republicans forty-four, the Independents sixteen, and the Labor and Farmer parties fifteen each. Proportional voting probably accounts for the considerable number of Republicans returned. However, though a few have since been released, twenty-nine of their number, including Eamon de Valera, were in jail, and it is predicted that if those at large should appear in the Dail Eireann it would split the party and drive the Independents, the Farmers and moderates in the Labor wing to the support of the Government. To forestall disorder members have been required to take the oath of allegiance in the clerk's office before appearing on the floor of the House.

On Sept. 10 the Irish Free State was formally admitted to the League of Nations at Geneva, where the delegation headed by Mr. Cosgrave was unusually well received.

Following the opening of the Dail on Sept. 19, Mr. Cosgrave was re-elected President of the Executive Council, whereupon he handed over the Ministry of Finance to Ernest Blythe, a Protestant Ulsterman of proved capacity. Resolutely and hopefully the Government is grappling with economic and industrial measures to repair the devastation of a prolonged conflict. The land problem is still a thorny one, the farmers are complaining; but there is far less unemployment than in England and the financial situation is far from bad. The leaders have shown an heroic, if ruthless, determination in the teeth of opposition from the most diverse elements, including genuine if fanatical idealists, young men

preferring strife to peaceful pursuits, and land-hungry folk bent on dismembering the remainder of the great estates. The majority have long desired peace; but terrorism and centuries of chafing under an alien rule have kept many from rendering active support to the constituted authorities. The new Government seems to be gaining increasing favor among nearly all of Irish stock in other parts of the world.

AUSTRALIA

IN the dominions there appears to be a continued and perhaps growing demand for imperial preference. Stanley Bruce, the Prime Minister of Australia, has announced that he was not going to the conference solely to demand tariffs; for the reason, however, that he thought that results could be secured in other ways: by a policy of preferring imperial products in buying and selling; by improved transportation and communication, and by adjustments of freight rates.

On Aug. 28 the long delayed building of the new capital of Australia at Canberra was begun.

SOUTH AFRICA

GENERAL SMUTS before his departure for the Imperial Conference declared at Pretoria that South Africa looked to the British for markets closed in Europe from lack of capacity to buy and in the United States by customs barriers.

The South African Prime Minister's sojourn in England should be rendered somewhat easier by a sudden rift in the ranks of his opponents. He won the last election on the issue of separation from the empire by a combination of the Unionists with Botha's old South African party. During the session his precarious majority was seriously endangered when Colonel Cresswell, leader of the Labor Party, negotiated an alliance with the Nationalist, General Herzog, each agreeing not to oppose the other's candidates at the next general election—on the condition that the Republican issue would not be raised in the ensuing Parliament. But, on Sept. 14, at a meeting of the Transvaal Nationalist Congress two Boer leaders declared that, although parliamentary action was temporarily precluded, "Republicanism was a sacred principle of the Nationalists," and that it was their duty energetically to propagate the idea throughout the country. This pronouncement has been vigorously denounced by Colonel Cresswell and by Mr. Barlow, one of the most doughty Labor leaders. Mr. Barlow even went so far as to say that the alliance had still to be ratified by the Labor Party Conference on Jan. 1, and that "it might be as well to advise Nationalists that the conference could just as well tear up the pact as endorse it."

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

ON Sept. 12 the annexation of Southern Rhodesia as a self-governing colony was announced. It will be recalled that since 1889 it has been under the control of the British South Africa Company, and that on Oct. 12, 1922, on the basis of a referendum the voters decided, 8,774 to 5,989, against incorporation in the Union of South Africa. On July 24 the outstanding claims of the company were settled and on Oct. 1 the new Governor, Sir John Chancellor, proclaimed responsible Government.

INDIA

BY ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

THE Indian National Congress met at Delhi on Sept. 15 under the leadership of Messrs. Das, Patel and Mohammed Ali (lately released after two years' imprisonment for political offenses). In line with the recommendation of Mr. Gandhi (who is still in prison), it was resolved that Indian Nationalists should propose candidates for the legislative Assembly and the Provincial Councils. The Swaraj (Home Rule) Party agreed to this only with the intention of obstructing legislation. In opposition to Gandhi's wishes, a boycott of British goods was voted as a protest against the decision limiting the rights of Indians in Kenya Colony. A proposed declaration that complete independence be considered the goal of Indian action was voted down after much discussion. It was resolved to organize a scheme of "civil disobedience." The congress was influenced strongly by the renewed religious dissensions between Hindus and Moslems and between Sunnite and Shiite Moslems, which seriously threaten to disintegrate the Nationalist movement.

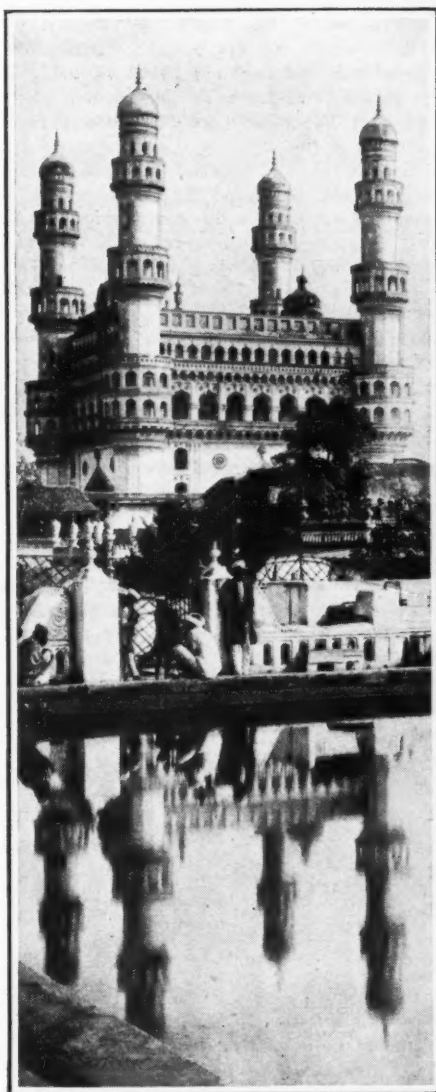
The Indian Government, with a view to economy, has decided to locate the bulk of its offices continuously at Simla. The Viceroy dissolved the legislative Assembly on Sept. 12, and ordered an election for December, the new Assembly to meet at Delhi in January.

The Under Secretary of State for India in London issued on Sept. 10 a memorandum on accounts and estimates. A deficit of \$83,000,000 in 1921-22 and one of \$52,000,000 in 1922-23 is expected to be replaced by a surplus of \$2,500,000 in 1923-24. Army expenditures for the current year are to be reduced by \$15,000,000.

Tom Smith, Labor member of the British House of Commons, has published information to the effect that the coal mines of India in 1921 employed 65,786 men, 42,000 women and 1,171 children under 12 years of age. New laws provide that after June 1, 1924, no children under 13 shall be employed in mines, no adult shall work more than fifty-four hours in any one week,

and the Government shall have power to regulate or to prohibit entirely the work of women underground. Dividends of 30 to 50 per cent. are common in Indian mining companies, and twice as high a rate is sometimes reached.

According to recent official reports, crimes of violence have increased greatly in Bengal and the Punjab, reaching a maximum in 1922. The reasons assigned are economic difficulties and political agitation. It is proposed to strengthen the police forces.



Ewing Galloway

Char Minar, at Hyderabad, one of the most beautiful buildings of India. The four minarets are built over four arches at the intersection of four principal streets

CANADA

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

IN Canada just now there is little that is exciting or unusual. Parliament is not in session and several of the leading statesmen are in attendance at London. One incident which stands out is the visit of the Prince of Wales to his farm property in Alberta. That the heir to the British throne should be a landowner is nothing new, but this young man's enjoyment of his own land in Canada is agreeably democratic and helps to cement the empire together. He sailed for England Oct. 12. Everywhere he appeared he strengthened his popularity and won new hearts by his democratic bearing and agreeable personality.

The most important Canadian occurrence for the month is the Imperial Conference in London flanked by an Imperial Economic Conference. Canada is placed in the limelight because of its relation to the controversy with the United States over the suggestion of the extension of our water boundary from the three-mile to twelve-mile limit. The Canadians are understood to look kindly upon such a step seaward.

The Imperial Conference affects the United

States indirectly, particularly the economic suggestions of a wider preference to British imports in competition with American. Canada is also affected by the proposal to increase the duties on grain imported into the United States.

Another interesting territorial question for Canada comes from the appeal of the remnants of the Six Nations of Iroquois now residing in Ontario to the League of Nations, asking that body to take jurisdiction of controversies with both Great Britain and the Dominion. The Indians are neither "members of the League" nor "minorities" within acknowledged States; and Canada refuses to admit any jurisdiction in such a controversy.

Trouble still exists over the Ontario provincial statute against betting which has been held by the Provincial Supreme Court to be beyond the authority of the Province. That the Dominion has acquired a status not very far removed from national sovereignty has been made clear by the recent going into effect of a direct commercial convention between France and Canada, by which Canada secures the benefit of the French minimum tariff on certain articles and France receives the privilege of the Canadian "intermediate" tariff.

BRITISH IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

By WILLIAM MACDONALD

Former Professor of History, Brown University, and Former Associate Editor of The New York Nation

THE seventh British Imperial Conference opened at London on Oct. 1. The British Government was represented by Prime Minister Baldwin and other members of the Cabinet; Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa by their Prime Ministers and other Government officials; Newfoundland by its Premier; India by Viscount Peel, Secretary of State for India, together with British and Indian representatives, and Ireland by President W. T. Cosgrave and Desmond Fitzgerald, Minister of External Affairs. The provisional agenda included as subjects for discussion the general position of the empire on the main issues of Imperial policy; present and future problems of foreign policy; naval, military and air defense; cable, wireless and mail services, and interimperial communication by air, land and sea. It was expected that the sessions would continue for six or seven weeks.

At the opening session Prime Minister Baldwin reviewed the question of reparations, the League of Nations, the war debt arrangement with the United States, the Washington Disarmament Conference, and the general political situation of Europe. The collapse of passive resistance in the Ruhr, he declared, had opened a new phase of the European situation in which the only hope of settlement lay in "the closest co-operation and

complete confidence of the Allies in each other." The action of the League of Nations in the dispute between Italy and Greece was warmly commended. The burden of the war debt to the United States was characterized as very heavy, amounting to 7d. in the pound on the income tax, but repayment of the debt was looked upon as "the only possible course consistent with the supreme standard of British credit," and as "an essential preliminary to the restoration of the normal economic life of the world." The results of the Washington conference "exceeded our most sanguine anticipations." Great Britain, it was stated, would gladly co-operate with other Governments "in limiting the strength of air armaments on lines similar to the treaty of Washington in the case of the navy." One of the remedies for the unemployment situation in Great Britain, where approximately 1,250,000 persons were out of work, Mr. Baldwin pointed out, was the encouragement of imperial trade. "The economic condition of Europe makes it essential that we should turn our eyes elsewhere. The resources of our empire are boundless, and the need for rapid development is clamant. I trust that we shall not separate before we have agreed upon the first steps to be taken to create, in the not too distant future, an ample supply of those

raw materials on which the trade of the world depends. Population necessarily follows such extension, and that in its turn leads to the general expansion of business, from which alone can come improvement in the material condition of the people."

At the session on Oct. 2 General Smuts, Premier of South Africa, characterized the British debt to the United States as a millstone hanging about the neck of Great Britain, and requiring for the discharge of the obligation a reconsideration of established policies. "The United States," he declared, "has not only erected a high tariff wall, excluding our products, but also claims, and rightly claims, payment of her debt. This forces us to develop the British Empire to the utmost." The African continent, he continued, most of which belonged to Great Britain, was capable of producing almost everything necessary in the way of raw materials. W. L. Mackenzie King, the Canadian Premier, intimated that immigration to Canada would be welcomed, regard being had, however, to Canadian industries and to the economic position of the country.

On Oct. 5 Lord Curzon, in a three-hour speech, reviewed the course of foreign affairs since the last Imperial Conference held two years ago. The occupation of the Ruhr, he declared, had brought about the beginnings of the internal disruption in Germany which had all along been feared, and disruption was of portentous economic significance because "it means the ultimate disappearance of the debtor himself." The next proposals should come from France, and they would be received and discussed in a friendly spirit. "Our position at Cologne in the occupied area gives us the right to be consulted in any local agreements that may be proposed," he said, "and that position we have no intention to abandon. Our reparation claim, willing as we have been to pare it down in the interests of settlement, renders it impossible that any such settlement could be reached without our co-operation. Our stake in the economic recovery of Europe, which affects us as closely and in some respects more so than the immediate neighbors of Germany, makes us long for the issue. We have already shown our willingness by unexampled concessions to contribute to it."

Lord Curzon defended the treaty of Lausanne as the best that could be obtained under the circumstances, but spoke severely of the "notorious agreement" previously concluded at Angora by M. Franklin-Bouillon.

Only the portions of the speech relating to Germany and the Lausanne treaty were at first made public, but though secrecy surrounded the subsequent proceedings of the conference down to the time when this issue of the magazine went to press, sharp differences of opinion were

reported to have developed as to the course that should be pursued. General Smuts was understood to be in favor of a strong Imperial policy in dealing with the reparations issue, and in this he was said to have the support of Premier Bruce of Australia. Mr. Mackenzie King, on the other hand, was reported as opposed to Imperial intervention in Europe, and a similar attitude was attributed to Premier Massey of New Zealand. The scanty official reports of proceedings that were published gave no indication of a disposition either to sever friendly relations with France or to wait indefinitely for further French proposals. A report of the Janina-Albania incident was given by Lord Curzon on Oct. 11, and Lord Robert Cecil spoke for the League of Nations. The conference, it was stated, was unanimous in supporting the League.

IMPERIAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

AN Imperial Economic Conference, in the main identical in its membership with the political Imperial Conference, held its first session at London on Oct. 2. Sir Philip Lloyd Graeme, President of the Board of Trade, speaking on behalf of the British Government, pointed out that not only had British commerce to face the destruction of its best markets in Europe, but that when Europe had settled down its industrial capacity would be found to have increased as a result of the war, and competition with Great Britain would be intensified. He asked the conference to consider three classes of questions; first, empire settlement, including the distribution of population, industrially and agriculturally, throughout British territory; second, financial co-operation within the empire; and third, imperial preference.

Regarding the second class of questions, the suggestion was made that a measure similar to the British Trade Facilities act, under which the Government guarantees capital issues for undertakings of different kinds, on condition that supplies and materials be drawn from England, might be adopted by the Dominions, and that population might be attracted by the encouragement thus given to industry. One of the most pressing needs, it was urged, was a sufficient supply of raw cotton, a product which large areas in the empire were capable of producing, but for which a large capital expenditure in providing irrigation and transport was necessary.

Other matters which, Sir Philip stated, would come before the conference included the establishment and control of services in Egypt and India, provisions for safeguarding overseas trade against discrimination by foreign countries, and the regulation of imports and exports of live stock. The creation of an advisory body to deal with economic or commercial questions that might

arise between Great Britain and the Dominions was also suggested.

At its session on Oct. 4, the conference considered the questions of mutual co-operation in the use of commercial, consular and diplomatic services; the removal of obstacles to the admission of commercial travelers' samples; statistics of imperial trade; imperial co-operation in regard to patents, designs and trade marks, and the customs valuation of goods.

From the beginning of the conference the question of imperial preference in tariffs and other matters assumed the place of first importance. On Oct. 9 Sir Philip, on behalf of the Government, offered an increased preferential tariff on dried and preserved fruits, sugar and tobacco. Dried fruits of empire origin were to be admitted free of duty; an import duty of 10s. 6d. per hundredweight was to be imposed on dried fruits of foreign origin, in place of free admission as at present; while preserved fruits were to bear a duty on their sugar content and an additional duty of 5s. per hundredweight when imported from foreign countries. Further concessions were also proposed for the benefit of sugar and tobacco growers in the empire.

The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of the Colonial Office, speaking on behalf of the Crown Colonies and Protectorates, pointed out that the proposed preference in regard to sugar would benefit particularly the British West Indies and Mauritius, which were unable to compete with

American sugar because of the preference which the United States gives to sugar from Porto Rico. The Government proposals were accepted in principle by the representatives of all the dominions and colonies except India, the Indian representative expressing the opinion that India would co-operate as far as possible. The working out of a detailed plan was entrusted to experts.

Proposals for British loans to local governing bodies and public utilities corporations in the empire, together with a guarantee of interest for a certain number of years, were laid before the Conference on Oct. 10. Sir Philip said that the Government was prepared to lend its credit in order to accelerate schemes for development of the smaller colonies but this would not apply in a general way to the larger dominions, as they were considered to have ample financial strength of their own. Preference to British goods in public contracts was further discussed. Some opposition developed in the press and in the country, however, on the ground that the extension of imperial preference involved an abandonment of free trade and called for the imposition of additional taxes. Mr. J. R. Clynes, one of the leaders of the Labor Party opposition in the House of Commons, characterized the proposals as "commercially a blunder, politically a disaster." It was further intimated that the proposals contravened the pledges given by Mr. Bonar Law and Mr. Baldwin to the effect that no protective duties would be laid upon food products.

FRANCE AND BELGIUM

By WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS

Professor of History, University of Minnesota

THE past month has been one of quiet satisfaction for France. The abandonment of "passive resistance" by the German Government and the increasing signs that the German people have at last realized the absolute necessity of an understanding with their victors, seem to vindicate the hopes and political philosophy entertained in a thousand little communes from Dunkirk to Marseilles. The American exchange rate for the franc remains down (6.09 1/4 on Oct. 9), but the brightening economic feature of the republic in the eyes of international finance is shown by the rise of the French 7 1/2 per cent. external bonds from 85, their low quotation in the Bourse panics immediately after the occupation of the Ruhr, to around 95 in October.

The great fact is that while public men have been distracting the world with gloomy prophecies, the great masses of the French people, the same people who so marvelously restored their land after the calamities of the Hundred

Years' War, the Wars of Religion, the Revolution and the invasion of 1870-71, have been calmly at work again rehabilitating the country with that practical efficiency which has been their historic glory. For a random example, figures just released indicate that there are now 1,325,000 more beef cattle in France than in 1918, over 1,200,000 more swine, nearly 550,000 horses and about 800,000 more sheep. This means that the same peasants who supplied the poilus who held Verdun and the Marne have returned faithfully to homely but very necessary tasks. France has of late been much freer from the industrial disturbances that impair production than any other large European country. In the first seven months of 1923 the deposits in the French savings banks increased by 260,000,000 francs.

How far the French people really expect to be recouped for the reconstruction expenditures it is still somewhat hard to say, but even though the prospects of heavy payments from Germany are

still tied up with the general situation beyond the Rhine, there is not the least wavering in the French purpose. On Oct. 7 Premier Poincaré summed up the undoubted viewpoint of the great majority of his nation when he said at Ligny, "It matters not what men rule Germany, and it matters not what kind of Government she has; we intend to rest upon our position, which is a clear demand for guarantees both for our security and for the full payment of reparations."

Almost at that same hour, former Premier Briand, whom Poincaré had forced out of office as being too lenient toward Germany, was speaking at Nantes, and calling upon all Frenchmen to stand with their Government in accomplishing its arduous task. Then he added what apparently has become the dominant sentiment of the country: "I consider *security* the most important question facing France today. Reparations, though also vital, must cede first place to security." Until the French peasants can feel themselves safe from another ruinous descent from Germany, it is becoming ever more abundantly manifest that Anglo-American financiers and statesmen will give them counsels of moderation in vain, while for the present Raymond Poincaré looms as apparently the most powerful single individual in all Europe.

On Sept. 15 was celebrated the fifth anniversary of the delivery of Hattonchatel, a tiny but famous fortress town in the St. Mihiel sector, by the American forces. At the same time official thanks were proffered for its restoration by its American "marraine" (godmother), Miss Belle Skinner of New York and Holyoke, Mass. By her generosity the town had been not merely rehabilitated, but provided with a magnificent electrical pumping system, lifting an abundant water supply to this remarkable human settlement. Here for over two thousand years a considerable community has lived on the top of a 500-foot hill, rising sheer above the plain, and has been heretofore dependent upon water laboriously carried up from the valley below.

Counselor Whitehouse of the American Embassy at Paris spoke on the bonds uniting America and France, dwelling on the fact that if "comradeship in arms is vital and easy to remember by song and story, the comradeship of peace, although more humdrum, is none the less essential if two peoples are to understand and like each other. Such comradeship we claim in behalf of our two countries." Divergent policies there may sometimes be, but "when solid friendship and respect link two countries together, temporary differences of opinion in politics have little effect." Premier Poincaré replied in appropriate terms, including a felicitous reference to the American soldiers who had fallen in the gigantic battle of St. Mihiel.

Apart from the Ruhr developments discussed elsewhere, politics have been quiescent with the

Chamber of Deputies enjoying a vacation. The multiplication of foreign Communists in Paris has forced the police to enforce with rigidity the regulations compelling aliens in that city to take out "cards of identity" and report to the local police commissariat any change of residence. All foreigners in the Department of the Seine are now to be checked up and required to comply with the letter of the law. This is likely to cause some inconvenience to harmless sojourners, but Communists of all nationalities have a way of making disturbances far out of proportion to their numbers, and the measure was deemed necessary to prevent future trouble.

The recent controversy involving the Louvre and other museums as to forged works of art has led to the drafting of a drastic law to protect all genuine art objects existing in France and to penalize severely the manufacturing of spurious specimens. The proposed law to be laid before the returning Chamber of Deputies undertakes to put commerce in art objects on the same footing as other commerce, to punish "faking" in all forms, and also to forbid "restorations" (a fertile abuse) except with official permission.

On Sept. 15 Edouard Herriot, the Mayor of Lyons, arrived in New York on a commercial mission to America to try to persuade our manufacturers of silks to exhibit their goods at the great Lyons silk fair. M. Herriot declined to discuss detailed politics, but in general he took a far more reassuring view of the European situation than many American and British men of affairs. He declared that French crops were prosperous and that the nation could be fed without grain importations; also that France was free from any serious problem of unemployment.

The French Air Service is justly proud of the great voyage of its huge dirigible Dixmude, which on Sept. 30 ended an uninterrupted trip of 4,500 miles, accomplished in 118 hours and 41 minutes. The trip took it from France southward far down into the Desert of Sahara, then back via Sicily and Corsica and northward to Paris, where it landed without mishap at its regular headquarters near Marseilles. American officers declared that this was assuredly a record. The Dixmude's voyage in a straight line would have carried it to St. Louis, Mo. Feats like this prove the French Air Service to be an important factor in preserving the peace of Europe against another general upheaval.

BELGIUM

EARLY in September Belgium rejoiced in completing a satisfactory pact with Britain as to the boundaries of the disputed Ruanda-Urundi territory in the former German East Africa. The matter has given great difficulty to the diplomats

since Germany surrendered the region according to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. In 1919 the whole vast country was divided between Tanganyika territory, which became a British mandate, and Ruanda-Urundi, which was mandated to Belgium. Unfortunately the overhasty boundary makers put a premium on trouble by drawing their line directly through the lands of the native Sultan of Ruanda, creating a local situation which speedily became impossible. His Majesty Sultan Musinga could not be expected to serve two European suzerains happily, and with considerable magnanimity the British negotiators gave way. The dominions of King George V. are thus nominally lessened by some 2,100 square miles.

It does not detract from the credit due Britain for her generosity regarding this concession to reflect that the Ruhr situation makes it exceedingly desirable for Downing Street to strengthen its friendship with Brussels. One of the heaviest blows to the efforts of the Baldwin Ministry to get the French out of the Ruhr has been the marked tendency of King Albert's Ministers to feel that so far Paris has out-argued London. Belgium has tried hard to mediate between its two great allies, for both of which she has very high consideration. The Belgian case is one that permits sympathy with the positions alike of France and of Britain. Foreign Minister Jaspar not long ago summed up the situation admirably in a public address, saying that Belgium ought to be the pivot to reconcile the two viewpoints, because "like France, Belgium is in sore need of reparations; like England she is dependent on her exports, and must restore her markets abroad. The part to be played by the Belgian people is thus clearly defined."

Very recently, however, Emile Cammaerts has written: "If Belgians do not share the blind confidence expressed in certain British quarters concerning the Germany of tomorrow, neither do they share the anxieties expressed in the same quar-

ters with regard to the France of today." Very reluctantly last January Belgium saw the Paris conference break up, with France and Britain drifting apart and Belgium herself forced to choose between the British proposals, which did not seem to guarantee any real payments by Germany, and the French proposals, which, whatever their bluntness, did promise a real effort to get something out of Germany. When this test came all the Belgian parties, except the majority of the Socialists, sustained the Government in siding with France. Today Belgium is marching with France; not with implicit obedience, to be sure, and not without fear lest she become the very inferior partner in a strictly dual alliance, and lest, to quote Cammaerts again, "Belgium may be drawn into the orbit of France and not succeed in maintaining an independent attitude with regard to the European problems in which she is involved."

For all that, Belgium seems to be sustaining France in her present controversies. This fact is a major item in the present dominant position of the Third Republic in Europe. The French appreciate the situation, and Paris apparently is treating Brussels with the greatest consideration.

Great public interest was aroused by the James Gordon Bennett balloon races which started from Brussels on Sept. 23. The races began amid terrific gusts of winds and driving rain. Of the seventeen balloons entered no less than six were forced down and damaged or destroyed, and five pilots or aids perished. Among the victims were Lieutenants Olmsted and Shoptaw, who were killed when the United States Army balloon S-6 was destroyed by lightning. Another American balloon, the United States Navy A-6699, made a safe landing in Holland. The race was reported as won by a Belgian Demuyter, whose "Belgica" came down in Sweden at a distance of about 600 miles. Demuyter is an aeronaut of many laurels, having already won the Bennett Cup in 1922 with a flight of no less than 800 miles.

GERMANY

By WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD

Professor of History at Columbia University

EFFORTS of the Administration of Chancellor Stresemann, resting upon a four-party coalition of People's Party, Centrists, Democrats and Socialists, to carry through the Reichstag a plan of action that would endow the Ministry with extraordinary powers encountered resistance from the Extreme Right and Left sufficient to prevent its enactment into law. The internal situation of the country, torn by political dissension and overwhelmed with economic distress, was made all the more precarious because of the abandonment of passive

resistance in the Ruhr. Measures of an extra-constitutional nature, however, sanctioned by the national Legislature and concentrating authority in a form that would free it from partisan influence, seemed imperative, if actual dictatorship or civil war were to be avoided. The great peril to the maintenance of German unity and stability lay in the agitation of Nationalists and Communists—the one centred in Bavaria and the other in the large industrial districts, especially in Saxony, where the Minister President was known to have communistic leanings.

As soon as the news that the Government at Berlin had decided to abandon resistance in the Ruhr reached Munich, the Bavarian Ministry on Sept. 26 appointed Dr. Gustav von Kahr, a former Premier, General Commissioner of State, and placed him in supreme charge of public affairs. Apparently the action was taken with the immediate object of blocking a scheme of Adolph Hitler and his gray-shirted followers to seize control and start a revolution for the overthrow of the republic and a renewal of the struggle with France. Whatever the motive, the procedure amounted practically to an ignoring of the authorities at Berlin. Upon the advice of the Cabinet, hastily summoned to a midnight conference, President Ebert proclaimed forthwith a "state of emergency" throughout the country and entrusted what was virtually dictatorial power to Dr. Otto Gessler, the Minister of Defense. For the preservation of order he was to act, so far as possible, through civil commissioners. An officer of the Reichswehr, or national army, was then directed to co-operate with Dr. von Kahr at Munich, and the tension between Bavaria and Berlin subsided.

Placing the country under a modified form of martial law had much wider implications than the suppression of attempts at disturbing the public peace which were certain to follow an announcement of yielding to France. It served, not only to supersede the separate action of Bavaria by an assertion of the authority of the central Government, but to call the attention of the world to the critical condition of Germany; otherwise a coalition administration in which socialistic influence was strong would never have consented to a measure of so drastic a character. The result was that only one monarchist outbreak occurred. At Küstrin, a half-dismantled fortress not far from Berlin, a few hundred malcontents tried to storm the arsenal, but were readily repulsed.

Though public order was not seriously menaced by political agitation, signs began to multiply, early in October, that the Stresemann Cabinet was tottering. Nationalists and Communists in the Reichstag resented their exclusion from the Coalition by constant attacks. These might have been repelled without great difficulty, had not the precipitous fall of the mark, the soaring of prices, the dislocation of business, increase in unemployment and the prospect of a Winter of cold and hunger brought on a degree of popular unrest which had in some way to be restrained. Big business, represented by Hugo Stinnes and other industrial magnates, kept up through the People's Party, of which the Chancellor himself was a member, a steady pressure upon Dr. Stresemann to admit Nationalists into the coalition, oust Dr. Hilferding, the Socialist Minister of Finance, along with his ultra-radical program

of taxation and currency reform, and provide for an abolition of the eight-hour working day. The Socialists, on their part, joined the Communists in a demand for restoration of constitutional guarantees. Unable to hold out against such odds, after two members representing the People's Party and the Centrists had withdrawn, on Oct. 3 the entire Cabinet resigned.

Since no one other than Dr. Stresemann seemed capable of constructing a Ministry and staving off a possible dictatorship, the President turned over the task to him again, at the very time that Stinnes and his coadjutors were conferring with General Degoutte, commander of the French army in the Ruhr, about the possibility of the Germans resuming work there. Eventually the Chancellor succeeded in restoring the Coalition Cabinet substantially intact, except for the elimination of the Socialist Minister of Finance and his replacement by a Centrist.

Even with this change the task of the Chancellor was one of terrifying proportions. Dependent upon the good graces of party groups of the middle contending with extremists of Right and Left, he was expected to help solve an internal problem that would tax the resources of the ablest of statesmen, and in addition handle adequately an international situation of unprecedented complexity. The program that he had before him was to mobilize the entire strength of the nation in property and man power. In order to bring about Germany's rehabilitation, he had to promote measures levying heavy taxation upon real values which would yield a sufficient revenue, and carry into effect a monetary reform that would assure a stable currency. On the other hand, he had to provide for rigid economy in public expenditure, including a sharp reduction in the number of Government employees, and for an increase in production by doing away with the eight-hour regulation. If he tried to put through the first part of the program he would alienate the large industrial interests, and if the second, he would lose the support of the Socialists.

The means by which the Chancellor proposed to make his policy effective depended upon the success he might have in securing from the Reichstag the enactment of a law amending the Constitution, which would save the Cabinet from the risk of partisan interference, while reserving to the legislative body itself a certain amount of ultimate control. A bill for this purpose was approved by the National Economic Council on Oct. 8, with the Bavarian members dissenting. It authorized the Government to decree financial, economic and social measures that it might deem essential and urgent. These were not to extend, however, to the regulation of working overtime, the limitation of pensions and the grant of aids and doles. The ordinance also was to be rev-

On Oct. 13 the Reichstag passed the constitutional amendment conferring "extraordinary powers" on the Stresemann Government, thereby suspending constitutional rights and liberties. The vote was 316 to 24, with 7 blank ballots. The amendment was opposed by Bavarians and Communists. Hugo Stinnes voted in its favor.

As the relentless grip of the French tightened on the industrial throat of Germany in the Ruhr, the Reichsbank kept its presses busy issuing notes in ever higher denominations until the amount of paper in circulation and of the Government's floating debt reached the most fantastic of figures, ranging up into the quadrillions and quintillions. Then, since the amount turned out was still insufficient to meet the corresponding rise in prices, it was supplemented by the printing of money by cities, railways and private corporations.

So high were the prices that the ordinary necessities of life became practically unobtainable for increasing masses of the population. Food riots in various cities and raids upon neighboring farms were the consequence. Disorders began the evening of Oct. 1 at Solingen, in British occupied territory, and the next day the casualty list was reported as totaling eleven dead, including the Commissary of Police, and thirty-five wounded. Many stores were pillaged. At Hoechst, where 2,000 unemployed besieged the City Hall, the police fired on the crowd, killing one and wounding ten others. Rioting and attempted plundering also developed serious proportions at Cologne. Large numbers of people were reported to be crossing the border from Bavaria into Austria to escape to more tolerable conditions. A report that the British Government was ready to conclude a special agreement with Germany for the resumption of work in the British zone of occupation had not been confirmed when this issue of the magazine went to press.

As the price of goods reached a point where purchase was no longer possible, the manufacture of them for domestic consumption was curtailed, and great numbers of persons were thrown out

of work. Many of the German factory owners nevertheless continued to utilize their balances abroad in buying large quantities of raw material and found an export market for their wares.

Considerable interest attached to figures of German imports from the United States for the eight months of this year ending with August showing that Germany bought from us 549,644 bales of cotton, valued at \$72,000,000, or 15 per cent. more than England's purchases in the same period. In copper also Germany was our best customer, taking 108,000,000 pounds, valued at \$17,000,000.

The new treaty of amity and commerce between America and Germany will be negotiated in the United States, according to officials of the State Department.

AUSTRIA

IN contradistinction to the plight of its northern neighbor, Austria showed slow but steady signs of recovery. Thanks to the loan acquired through the agency of the League of Nations, the currency of the country has become stabilized and progress has been made toward balancing the budget.

It was officially confirmed in Vienna on Oct. 11 that Chancellor Seipel had arranged to meet Chancellor Stresemann at a frontier station within the next few days for a conference at the request of the German Chancellor. Stresemann's purpose, it was said, was to obtain the Austrian Chancellor's opinion on the advisability of appealing to the League of Nations for a foreign loan and to obtain counsel on the problem of organization of securities.

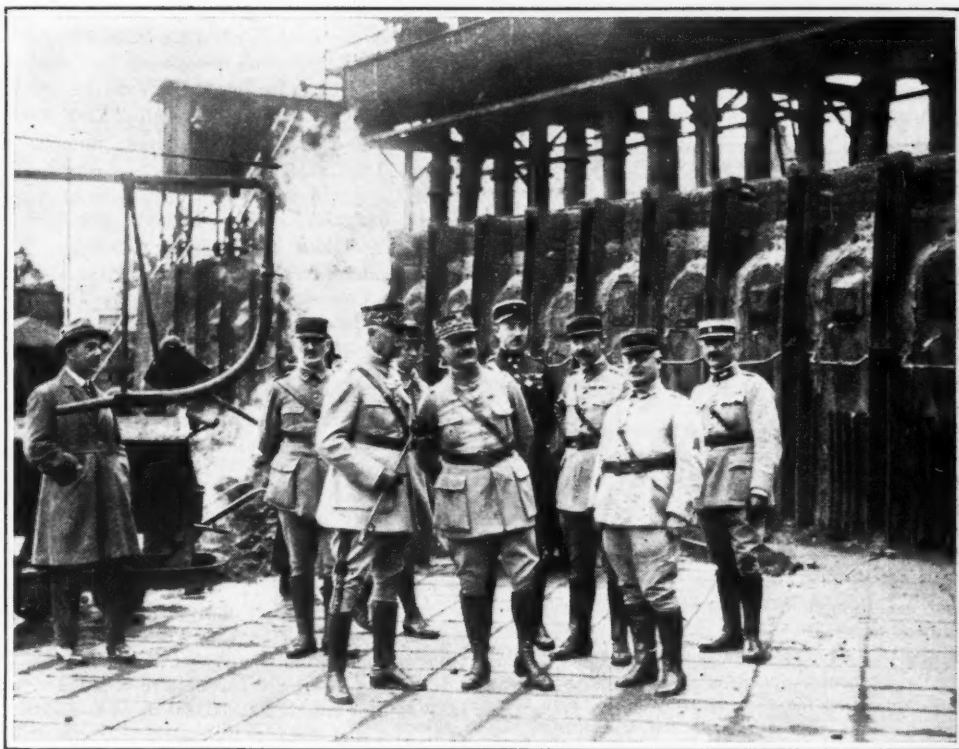
The amount of control exercised by the League over the expenditures of the Austrian Government has figured prominently in the campaign preceding the elections to the National Assembly. The Social Democrats opposed its continuance in the present form. Another source of complaint against the Clerical (Christian Socialist) Party in power is its expressed determination to abolish the existing restrictions upon house rent.

EVENTS IN THE RUHR

By WILLIAM MACDONALD

A SEMI-OFFICIAL statement issued on Sept. 14 at Berlin, dealing with the cost of passive resistance in the Ruhr, placed the number of deaths at 120, not including ten death sentences imposed by courts-martial. Five persons had been sentenced to imprisonment for life, and other prison sentences aggregating 1,500 years had been imposed; 209 school buildings

had been requisitioned for military purposes; 173 newspapers had been suspended, and 145,000 persons had been ousted from their homes, 131,000 of that number having been also expelled from the occupied territory. Paper marks to the amount of one quadrillion 632 trillion had been seized, together with 111,000 French francs. The coal, coke and briquettes shipped from the occupied



Keystone

French military commanders inspecting one of the cokeries in the Ruhr

area by the Belgian and French authorities, the statement declared, aggregated 2,375,000 tons, as against 11,460,000 tons of fuel delivered by Germany on reparations account during the corresponding period in 1922.

From the middle of September the abandonment of passive resistance was increasingly foreshadowed. A new offer of the German Government through the Belgian Minister at Berlin on Sept. 18, stipulated as a condition the release of prisoners and the return of exiles, but suggested a willingness to increase the offer of 30,000,000 gold marks proposed by the Cuno Government in June, with a mortgage upon German industries as a guaranty of payment. The necessity of restoring normal economic conditions in the Ruhr, together with free traffic with unoccupied Germany, was unofficially emphasized. A conference between Premier Baldwin and M. Poincaré at Paris on Sept. 19, was officially stated to have concerned itself only with the establishment of a "common agreement of views."

In a conference with the Prime Ministers of the States on Sept. 21, Chancellor Stresemann declared that passive resistance was costing 8,000,000,000 marks a week, and it was agreed that passive resistance must be given up "in a manner

consonant with the dignity and honor of the German nation." The decision was confirmed at a conference with party leaders, the National Party representatives, however, urging a continuance of resistance "with stronger means," while the Communists opposed a surrender to either French or German capitalism. A report that the National Party would make surrender in the Ruhr the occasion for defying the Government led to a consideration of military preparations by President Ebert and the Cabinet.

Premier Poincaré, in speeches at Toul and Bois-de-Prêtre on Sept. 23, insisted that the present crisis had suspended but not destroyed the ability of Germany to pay, and that Germany "must meet her just obligations." "We accept no conditions," declared M. Poincaré. "We hold to our public declarations. We have nothing to add to and nothing to subtract from them."

The next day, following a conference with 300 representatives of political parties, labor organizations, industrialists, municipal organizations and local and Government officials in the Ruhr and the Rhineland, Chancellor Stresemann announced that the Government had decided upon the immediate and unconditional abandonment of passive resistance, and had ordered work in all lines

to be resumed. The delegates of the National Party, though concurring in the decision, opposed formal negotiations with the French or a signed capitulation. A proclamation announcing the surrender was issued by President Ebert on Sept. 26, and on the same day 600 German postal employes returned to work at Wiesbaden. A general strike of 6,000 miners in the Gelsenkirchen, Recklinghausen and Wanne districts on the 27th as a protest against the Government decision continued for only twenty-four hours, the union leaders then advising the strikers to resume work. Telephone and telegraph service at Mayence was resumed, and the Düsseldorf branch of the Reichsbank offered to pay 15,000 French francs (in marks) daily toward the expenses of occupation. On the same day the Entente Ambassadors were informed that passive resistance had been given up, and the Minister for the occupied territory, Herr Fuchs, was directed to take the measures necessary to give effect to the decision.

The rioting at Düsseldorf on Sunday, Sept. 30, an account of which is given elsewhere in this issue, though due primarily to the agitation for a separate Rhineland State, was also indicative of the excited condition of public opinion. Premier Poincaré, speaking at Bois d'Ailly the same day, called for a resumption of work in the Ruhr, insisting that otherwise the withdrawal of passive resistance was meaningless; and on the following day, at Bar-le-Duc, he warned the French public against premature rejoicing. The action of eighty out of eighty-six departmental general councils in France approving M. Poincaré's policy was regarded by the French press as evidence of official political support.

On Oct. 2 it was reported that France was preparing to test the sincerity of the German Government's action by demanding a resumption of deliveries of goods on reparations account under the Weisbaden agreement of 1921. Düsseldorf, Essen, Dortmund, Witten, Hoerde and Bochum presently agreed to furnish their quotas of the expenses of the armies of occupation; miners were reported to have generally returned to work and railway traffic in the Ruhr showed an increase. A correspondent of *The New York Times*, however, reported on Oct. 4 that few of the passive resistance orders had as yet been formally rescinded.

Following the reconstruction of the Stresemann Cabinet (see Germany, in this section), Herr Stinnes and other industrial leaders, in a conference with General Degoutte at Düsseldorf on Oct. 5, submitted a plan for future co-operation and reparations payments based upon allied participation in the control of German industries. A statement of the same date issued by the Reparation Commission showed that Germany had paid in reparations, down to June 30,

the sum of 8,213,670,000 gold marks, of which 1,900,000,000 were in cash, 3,250,000,000 in merchandise, and the remainder in shipping, cables and credits for the Saare Valley mines and ceded territory. Of the total receipts 5,500,000,000 gold marks had been distributed, Belgium receiving 1,081,000,000 under its priority, while 144,000,000 gold marks had been paid to France; France had also received, however, the value of 1,357,000,000 gold marks in merchandise.

Chancellor Stresemann, in presenting the new Coalition Cabinet to the Reichstag, on Oct. 6, explained at length the reasons for abandoning passive resistance, but at the same time intimated that France would refuse to negotiate. The speech of Lord Curzon to the British Imperial Conference on the same day, referred to elsewhere in this issue, called forth hostile comment in the French press. Premier Poincaré, in a speech at Ligny-en-Barrois on Oct. 7, denied that France would not negotiate. "We will be ready to listen to precise proposals when we shall have observed on the spot that resistance has ceased and when the payments in kind due to us have resumed their regular movement." A financial correspondent of *The New York Times*, writing from Berlin on the same date, stated that the direct cost to Germany of passive resistance was estimated at from \$300,000,000 to \$400,000,000 in gold, and that the loss through decreased production was about \$600,000,000.

A solution of the Ruhr problem through negotiations between groups of industrialists and the French authorities was foreshadowed on Oct. 8, with the signature by the Otto Wolf group, representing the Phoenix and Rheinische Stahlwerke, a company producing 10 per cent. of the coal output of the Ruhr, of an agreement under which the tax on coal mined since the beginning of occupation and on future production was to be paid, and the demands of the Rhineland railways and the forces of occupation supplied. In return for this agreement the blockade against the products of the group was to be lifted and export restrictions removed. The Stinnes-Glockheim and von Vlissingen groups, it was understood, were negotiating through General Degoutte. On Oct. 10 the Krupp works at Essen were reported ready to begin operations immediately in all departments. A proposal from industrialists to abolish the eight-hour day, however, was strongly opposed by the labor unions, and was viewed with suspicion by the French, the latter pointing out that the observance of the eight-hour law was required by German law and the Treaty of Versailles, and that increased production through a lengthening of the working day might be followed by a "dumping" of German products on the world markets. On Oct. 10, in reply to a communication from the German Chargé d'Affaires at Paris, stating that the German Government

was ready to negotiate for a resumption of work in the Ruhr, and suggesting the creation of a commission representing France, Belgium and Germany to function in the Ruhr and to regulate all questions arising from the cessation of passive resistance and the operation of the Ruhr under the direction of Belgium and France, M. Poincaré declared that work must be resumed as before the occupation; that local difficulties would be dealt with by General Degoutte, and that after passive resistance had ended and work had been resumed any suggestion that Germany

had to offer would be considered by the Reparations Commission.

THE SARRE VALLEY

THE vacancy on the Sarre Valley Commission created by the resignation of R. D. Waugh of Manitoba, Canada, was filled by the appointment by the Council of the League of Nations, on Sept. 20, of Major George W. Stephens, former Chairman of the Montreal Harbor Commission, who was nominated by the Dominion Government.

THE RHINELAND SEPARATIST MOVEMENT

THE question of a separate Rhineland State continued to be agitated throughout the period under review. Meetings of separatists were held at Wiesbaden, Essen and Bochum on Sept. 23, and on the following day the supporters of Herr Smeets at Mayence voted to join the Rhineland Republican Party headed by Herr Joseph Mathes and Dr. Hans Dorten. It was reported that the French, whose sympathy with the movement continued to be shown, intended to retain control of the railways of the Rhineland as a security against mobilization. The gravity of the situation was emphasized at Düsseldorf on Sept. 30, when a great gathering of separatist adherents, brought in part by twenty special trains and estimated to number 30,000 persons,

was attacked by the German Security Police, ten persons being killed and seventy-four injured. Order was restored by the French troops, four members of the municipal Government were arrested on charges of instigating the attack, and the police force was disarmed and later dissolved. On the day of the Düsseldorf outbreak a meeting of some 15,000 persons at Cologne, called to offset the separatist demonstration, pledged loyalty to the Reich. On Oct. 8 a dispatch from Mayence (Mainz) stated that a republic was shortly to be proclaimed in all the principal cities on the left bank of the Rhine and in the Ruhr, but the proclamation had not been issued when these pages went to press.

ITALY

By LILY ROSS TAYLOR

Associate Professor of Classics, Vassar

THE occupation of Corfu, undertaken by the Italians when the Greeks failed to comply with their ultimatum after the Janina murder, has come to an end under circumstances that are hailed by the Italian press as a great victory for Mussolini's policy. The Council of Ambassadors in Paris, which the Italians accepted as arbiter in the situation, announced, on Sept. 7, terms for Greece which except for one important particular were hardly less drastic than the original Italian ultimatum. The sum of 50,000,000 lire was by these conditions not to be paid outright as indemnity to Italy, but was to be deposited in a Swiss bank as surety that the indemnity fixed by the Council would be paid. Greece accepted the terms and on Sept. 14 the Council of Ambassadors notified the Greek Government that the Italians would evacuate Corfu when the conditions were fulfilled. The date, Sept. 27, was announced for

the evacuation; meanwhile an interallied commission was to go to the scene of the murder and telegraph the Council within five days a preliminary report on the crime and the measures taken by Greece for arresting the assassins.

The first four conditions imposed by the Council in the communication of Sept. 8—demands for apologies to the diplomatic representatives of the Allies, for the holding of a funeral mass for the dead in Athens, for Greek naval salutes to the flags of the ships of the Allies, and for military honors to the Italians who were slain, were duly fulfilled. The prosecution of the search for the assassins, asked for as a fifth condition, came under the observation of the interallied commission of investigation which went to Albania on Sept. 17.

Although the report of that commission has not been published, there are indications that a difference of opinion arose as to whether the

Greek authorities had or had not been negligent. The culprits have not been found, and the Italian press makes the charge that Greek officials responsible for order in the region have not been dismissed or transferred. Meanwhile the bodies of the victims were brought to Rome where an impressive State funeral with full military honors took place on Sept. 23. The Council of Ambassadors, at the insistence of Baron Avezzana, the Italian Ambassador, that the matter be terminated on Sept. 27, proceeded on Sept. 26 to take action, though the Council had apparently received only the preliminary telegraphic report of the commission of investigation. At the first session, on Sept. 25, the Ambassadors were not unanimous, the British Ambassador, Lord Crewe, holding, it is reported, that negligence had not been proved against the Greek Government. Further instructions from London led him to change his position, and the following communiqué, representing a unanimous decision, was issued on Sept. 26:

"The Conference of Ambassadors, taking note of the execution by Greece of the reparations required by the note of Sept. 8 under numbers 1, 2, 3 and 4 and the conditions set forth in the conference's subsequent note of Sept. 13,

"Having taken note of the report which the Commission of Control sent by it to Janina has addressed to it under date of Sept. 22,

"Having, in conformity with Paragraph 5 of its note of the 13th, examined this report from the point of view of the execution of Paragraph 5 of the note of Sept. 6,

"Considering that at the date of the said report the guilty persons were not yet discovered,

"That, further, several failures have been laid to the charge of the Greek authorities concerning the conduct of the inquiry,

"That, as concerned the search for the guilty, several cases of negligence have been noted,

"Considering that the fifth condition [which read 'The Greek Government undertake to insure in all the desirable conditions of celerity the search for and exemplary punishment of the culprits'] of the note of Sept. 8 had, in consequence, not been considered to have been fulfilled.

"Decides that, by way of penalty on this account, the Greek Government shall pay to the Italian Government a sum of 50,000,000 Italian lire [about £500,000], the conference and the Italian Government further renouncing the recourse to the Court of International Justice at The Hague contemplated by Paragraph 7 of the note of Sept. 8, and also any other penalty, and considering the question as settled so far as they are concerned, save for particular recourse by Italy before the Court of International Justice on the question of the costs of occupation,

"Decides that the payment of the sum of 50,000,000 Italian lire above mentioned shall be effected by the handing to the Italian Govern-

ment of the sum of 50,000,000 Italian lire deposited on Sept. 10, 1923, in the Swiss National Bank.

"That, in consequence, the Court of Justice shall be requested to order the transfer of the said sum by the Swiss National Bank to the Bank of Italy in Rome to the account of the Italian Government.

"The conference notes on this occasion that the Italian Government declares that it will carry out on Sept. 27 its previously taken decision to evacuate Corfu on that date."

The Greek deposit of 50,000,000 lire was thus forfeited to Italy. The Italians evacuated Corfu on Sept. 27. The Italian fleet remained in the harbor until the indemnity was paid on Sept. 30.

Thus culminated a situation that gravely menaced the peace of the Mediterranean. The decision of the Ambassadors is regarded by the Italian press as a complete vindication of Mussolini's course, and incidentally as a distinct victory over Great Britain. The justice of the decision has been much questioned, especially in the British press. The bearing of the incident on the prestige of the League of Nations, whose competence to act in the matter Italy persistently refused to admit, has been much discussed. Mussolini's subsequent statement in an interview with a correspondent of the *Echo de Paris* on Sept. 5 is characteristically direct: "I refused to have the question examined by the League of Nations because it has the fundamental defect of allowing the small nations to discuss and regulate the interests of the great powers."

The settlement of the future status of Fiume is still in doubt, but the conciliatory attitude of both Italians and Yugoslavs, who were continuing their discussions through diplomatic channels at the time when these pages went to press, lessened the anxiety that was felt a month ago. When on Aug. 31 Mussolini notified the Yugoslav Government that if it did not within fifteen days accept the majority report of the commission of Santa Margherita he would resume full liberty of action, there was fear of a serious crisis. On Sept. 16 the Government of Fiume resigned in desperation, and Mussolini sent General Giardino to the city as Military Governor. The occupation was not at the time made with any reference to the threatened liberty of action. The powers, including the Yugoslav Government, were simply notified that the occupation had taken place. Yugoslavia made no open protest, and interchange of communications on the future adjustment continued. The feeling is strong in the Italian press that no settlement is possible for Fiume that fails to confirm the Italian character of the city, and that separates it economically, as the present arrangements do, from its hinterland. The desperate economic situation of Fiume, with its unused port and its numerous unemployed, makes the city at present a continual drain on Italy. General Giardino took

vigorous measures to relieve unemployment. Meanwhile the treaty of Rapallo, which has failed to solve the problem of Fiume, has lately been registered with the League of Nations, and M. Pashitch, the Serbian Premier, on Sept. 26 declared his intention of adhering to the treaty and, if need be, of submitting the whole question to the League of Nations.

In an interview granted on Oct. 5, Mussolini commented on one of the most distinctive groups in Fascista Italy, the "Black Shirts," who were, he declared, "the soul of the Fascista revolution," and whom he subsequently transformed into a State militia, commanded by officers from the reg-

ular army. The militia, he stated, consists of 300,000 men, and in case of mobilization the number can be raised to 800,000. He also notes the influence of Fascismo on religious instruction, which has been made obligatory in the elementary schools.

All Italy has been in deep anxiety over the condition of the Princesses Mafalda and Giovanna, second and third daughters of the King of Italy, who have been seriously ill with typhoid fever. Princess Giovanna suffered a relapse and was in a critical state for some days. News of the convalescence of the Princesses has been received with great rejoicing.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

EVENTS moved swiftly following capitulation of the Alhucemas Cabinet to the army and King Alfonso's invitation to the Marquis de Estella (Ferdinando Primo Rivera, Captain General of Catalonia) to take charge of the Government. General Rivera arrived in Madrid from Barcelona on Sept. 15 and received a rousing welcome. That night King Alfonso signed a number of decrees consolidating the new political régime. By the first of these General Rivera was appointed President of the Military Directorate and in the second his powers were defined as being those of sole chief of the Administration.

The King on Sept. 16 signed a decree dissolving the Spanish Parliament. The senior permanent officials were put in charge of the various departments of State, as follows:

DON FERNANDO ESPINOSA DE LOS MONTEROS—Foreign Affairs.

DON SEVERINO ALONZO MARTINEZ—Justice.

DON EDUARDO DE ILLANA—Finance.

GENERAL BERMUDEZ CASTRO—War.

DON MILLAN DE PRIEGO—Interior.

DON ANTONIO VALENCIANO MACEDAS—Public Works.

DON ALFONSO PEREZ GOMEZ NIEVA—Education.

DON GARCIA MARTIN—Labor.

The Minister of Marine was not nominated at the time.

Members of the military directorate, who took the oath of fidelity to the King along with General Rivera, are Generals Adolfo Espasno, Luis Navarro, Luis Hermoso, Dalmacio Rodriguez, Antonio Mayenda, Gomez Jordana, Ruiz Portal and Mario Muslera and Admiral Marquis Mavez. Señor Silvela, who was Civil High Commissioner for Spanish Morocco, was dismissed and General Aizpuru, Minister of War in the Alhucemas Cabinet, was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Morocco. General Aizpuru left Madrid for Tetuan on Sept. 21.

General Rivera announced that as soon as the

directorate has finished its task a new civil Cabinet will be formed. Parliament will not be convoked for some considerable time. The new territorial division to effect a more equitable representation in Parliament must first be established, and that was expected to require some months.

With the approval of the directorate, the King signed a decree on Sept. 18 against the separatist movement. The decree contained a clause imposing fines and sentences of imprisonment for persons who display any flag but that of Spain. Gambling in all clubs, including military clubs, was forbidden.

The new Government began at once a campaign against profiteering in prime necessities. It was asserted that owing to circumstances some merchants might increase prices slightly, but that the most energetic measures would be applied to prevent any exploitation of the people. Retailers were required to submit accounts showing what they had paid for goods.

The King on Sept. 21 signed a decree suspending trial by jury throughout the country. The decree, it was declared by competent authorities, would not be received unfavorably by the people, because it was well known that juries in the past had frequently been corrupted, resulting in a travesty of justice. New censorship provisions were put into effect prohibiting publication of any reports bearing on the plans of the military directorate except upon the authority of General Rivera or other proper officials.

By another decree every public official was required to sign up daily, on pain of losing his post. Fully a fourth of the great army of public officials were said to have nothing to do with the departments to which they belonged beyond receiving their salaries, which some did not even trouble themselves to call for but had delivered by messenger.

General Rivera in an interview announced some of his drastic plans. He said that on ac-

count of speculation the cost of living had been going up every day and was becoming intolerable. "I am ready to hang food and rent profiteers if necessary," he said, "and I will see that prices come down to a reasonable level."

In an official communication to the Captains General of the nine provinces, the Dictator announced that if any attempts were made to overthrow the régime he would not hesitate to take the most energetic measures. On any attempt at disorder in the streets the troops were to use their arms, and shooting en masse was to be ordered if necessary.

During these dramatic and swiftly moving events the people remained calm in Madrid and throughout the provinces. Public opinion seemed to be divided between hope that a better Government had been established and fear that the task was beyond the powers of the new leaders, and that many improvements would be found necessary in the army. The Crown emerged from the crisis strengthened, rather than weakened. The King's prompt departure from San Sebastian for Madrid, regardless of personal risk, and his prompt appraisal of the situation were regarded as having prevented great confusion, if not civil war.

Señor Alba, former Foreign Minister, fled to Belgium, and it was announced that he would remain in Brussels. He denied having used a Ministerial motor car to escape from Madrid. He was ready, he said, to appear before any Spanish court holding authority from a lawful Government to answer for his actions as Minister.

The trial of the assassins of former Premier Dato, who was shot and killed in Madrid in



Underwood

A street scene in Madrid when excited crowds turned out to see the soldiers after the military coup d'état by General Primo Rivera and other officers

1921, ended Oct. 11 with the conviction and sentencing to death of Pedro Mateo and Luis Nicolau, leaders of the band.

PORTUGAL

MANUEL TEIXEIRA GOMES, former Portuguese Minister to Great Britain, was inaugurated President of Portugal on Oct. 5. President Coolidge sent the executive a cablegram of felicitation. The day before the inauguration a revolution provoked by opponents of the President-elect broke out in Northern Portugal. Martial law was proclaimed in Oporto, and infantry regiments were called out to patrol the streets. A general strike was called on the Southern and Southeastern railways. There was also some bomb throwing in Lisbon, and communications there were suspended.

THE INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM OF TANGIER

THE conference of experts representing Great Britain, France and Spain, which met at London early in July to determine the future status of Tangier, adjourned on July 17 to permit the delegates to consult their Governments. The main point at issue concerned the extent of the authority to be exercised by the Sultan of Morocco. France, which holds a protectorate over Morocco, desired to maintain the authority of the Sultan, such authority to be exercised through a French Resident General. Spain, which controls the zone in which Tangier is

situated, desires the authority of the Sultan to be exercised in Tangier through the Spanish High Commissioner. Great Britain, on the other hand, regards the control of Tangier by any power as a possible menace to Gibraltar and the Mediterranean route to India, and though willing that Tangier shall be nationalized, preferred to have it administered by the League of Nations.

The question of maintaining the capitulations under which the rights of foreigners are safeguarded was also in controversy. The negotiations, which were resumed on Aug. 22, were disturbed in September by the demand of the

United States for the recognition of the principle of the open door in the settlement of the Tangier question, and by the demand of Italy for a voice in the deliberations. On Oct. 7 it was announced that the negotiations had reached an impasse because of the refusal of the British delegates to

agree to proposals which, it was said, gave undue influence to France through the powers which the Sultan, who was believed to be under French influence, was to exercise. At the time when this account was written the negotiations had not been resumed.

HOLLAND AND SCANDINAVIA

By RICHARD HEATH DABNEY

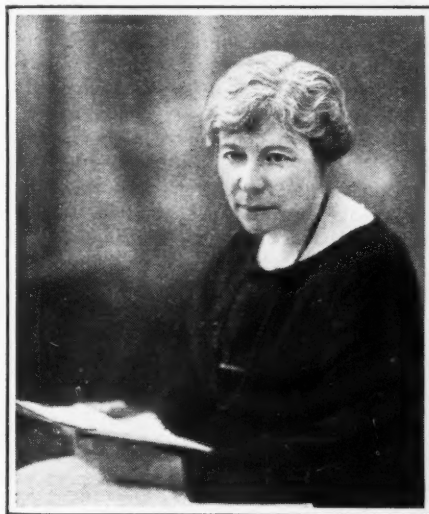
Professor of History, University of Virginia

MANY facts in all parts of the world illustrate the folly of the notion that in modern times any nation either does or can remain either intellectually, economically or even politically isolated from other nations. That the absolute freedom, sovereignty and independence of nations, upon which "patriotic" politicians so love to dwell, is a mere delusion of grandeur, is illustrated, for example, by the recent sending of Dutch troops to the German frontier to guard against armed bands of German marauders who not only plunder but even kill the inhabitants of Holland, just as Villa's Mexican bands once robbed and murdered Americans. This is an example of the way in which a nation's political action is not absolutely independent of, but is largely dependent upon, what happens on the soil of other nations. Holland, moreover, fears not only these roving German desperadoes, but also the possibility of a revolution in Germany, with all its train of consequences.

That interdependence rather than independence is the actual relation between nations is shown also by the fact that, in spite of the Four Power Pact and the declaration that the powers concerned will respect Dutch rights in the Pacific, the Dutch Cabinet Council is determined to increase the Dutch Navy and to establish bases and fortifications in the Dutch East Indies. Months of ferment over the new navy bill came to a head early in October, as the bill was expected to go before the second Chamber when it reconvened. A large mass meeting was planned for The Hague, but postponement of the debate caused something of an anti-climax. The question, briefly, is armament or disarmament; whether, in view of the large deficit in the budget, the Government ought to embark on a fleet program covering twelve years to protect its East Indian colonies, which might be seriously menaced in the eventuality of a war in the Pacific. The Japanese disaster served as a new weapon in the hands of the opposition.

The general depression of industry throughout the world owing to the slaughter of millions of young men and the crippling of millions more in the World War, and to the many unsettled political and economic questions which are the

war's aftermath, affects countries that were neutral like Holland as well as those that were belligerent. Dutchmen cannot sell as much to Germans or Russians now as when these peoples were prospering. Hence the gloomy tone of the recent speech from the throne to the States General. The Queen stressed the general stagnation in trade, industry, navigation and agriculture, and pointed out that the Government's expenses were exceeding its revenues. As it is well nigh impossible to increase taxation under present conditions, drastic measures of economy in expenditure were promised, including a reduction of 10 per cent. in the salaries of all State employees from January next. The Queen, the Queen Mother and the Ministers have all offered to accept a proportionate reduction in their allowances. This state of affairs had evidently been anticipated by Jonkheer De Geer, the Finance Minister, who resigned in July when the Cabinet



Underwood

PROFESSOR E. VAN DORP

One of the seven women in the Dutch Parliament. Born at Arnheim in 1872, she holds the degree of Doctor of Laws and practiced law for some years until she became prominent as a writer on political, historical and economic subjects

Council decided to bring the navy bill before Parliament because he believed that the bill would impose too great a burden upon the shoulders of the Dutch people.

Shortly afterward the elections for the First Chamber resulted in the return of nineteen members of the Left (eleven Social-Democrats, five Liberals and three Democrats) and of thirty-one members of the Right (sixteen Roman Catholics, eight members of the Calvinist Anti-Revolutionary Party and seven Christian Historicals.) It is interesting to note, parenthetically, that Catholics and Calvinists, whose forefathers in the sixteenth century fervently believed that they were doing God's service in cutting each other's throat, are now cheek by jowl as constituent parts of the conservative Right whose aim it is to check the excesses of modern liberal, democratic and socialistic movements.

It is not strange that the economic and financial depression in Holland should be evidenced in the situation of labor. There was a larger number of unemployed during the first quarter of 1923—according to a recent review of the facts—than in the same quarter of 1922. This was especially true in the metal-working industries and in engineering, as a result of the depression in the shipbuilding yards and in the manufacture of textiles, in the printing trades, the building trades, the hotel business, clothing factories, laundry and cleaning establishments, glass and bottle factories and the leather and shoe industries. The demand of luxurious Americans did, it is true, help the diamond industry of the Dutch, who also profited by the depression of the cigar and tobacco industry in Germany. Some other industries in Holland have also improved, as a result of the situation in the Ruhr, which has prevented German competition in Dutch markets. But, on the other hand, minor Dutch iron and steel works have suffered because unable to get raw materials from Germany. The number of strikes in Holland during the first three months of 1923, according to Consul General George E. Anderson, was eighty, as compared with seventy-three in the corresponding period of 1922. The chief cause of strikes this year is reported to have been the, usually successful efforts of employers either to reduce wages or to do what amounts to the same thing, viz., to increase the number of working hours without increases of pay. Many employers have secured governmental permission to work their men fifty-five hours a week, instead of forty-five, as the general law requires. A number of communes have adopted a forty-eight hour week as their legal standard. Considering this depressed condition of labor in Holland, it is not surprising to learn that the membership in labor unions decreased by about 20,000 during the first quarter of the current year.

THE DUTCH COLONIES

IT is somewhat of a relief to turn from the contemplation of this dismal situation in Holland to an account of progress in the Dutch East Indies during the last quarter of a century by a writer in the monthly publication issued in New York by the Netherlands Chamber of Commerce. Not only has population increased from 33,000,000 to more than 50,000,000 during that period, but shipping has greatly increased, agricultural experiment stations have been established, waterfalls have been harnessed to furnish power for traction and light companies and for large manufacturing plants, and harbor facilities have been improved by the building of large warehouses and the setting up of modern cranes. It is also stated that head hunting by the more savage tribes has been suppressed, as has also in some localities the custom of widows sacrificing themselves upon the death of their husbands. Primary schools, trade and craft schools have been established, as well as higher schools, in which natives are enrolled on an equal footing with European students. Courses in law and medicine are open to them, and also a polytechnic school. Millions of dollars have been spent on hospitals and sanitation, resulting in improvement of the general health and in a decrease in the death rate among infants. The formation of town and provincial Governments is spreading, while the Volksraad (People's Council) forms the germ of a legislative body for the islands as a whole.

SCANDINAVIA

LANGE KOCH, the Danish polar explorer, who has completed his two-year expedition to Northern Greenland, reports that Peary Channel is not really a channel but a depression with a lake. He also reports that he found 4,000 animal fossils and great reefs, like those of the tropics.

The Norwegian Foreign Office has issued a statement that the Storting will be asked to ratify the Spitzbergen Treaty this month. Though Holland is the only country which has thus far ratified the treaty, it is hopeful that all the signatory powers will have ratified it in time for Norway to take over its new colony next Summer.

SWEDEN

A trade letter issued by the American-Swedish News Exchange states that, in spite of Sweden's industrial prosperity being profoundly affected by social unrest within the country and by foreign political disturbances, there has been no recent cessation of dividends from any industrial security which was previously returning profits. The letter quotes the Stockholm Commercial World as saying that nothing has

happened to indicate that the lumber, wood pulp, paper, iron and steel industries would cease to return steady profits. Another Swedish newspaper, *Svensk Finanstidning*, has calculated that the Stock Exchange index for fifty-three securities at the beginning of September showed an average real value of 97.4 per cent. of par. According to the recent "Memorandum on Currency," published by the League of Nations, Sweden is one of the very few countries which had an increase in bank deposits between 1913

and 1922. The Swedish Postal Savings Bank now reports that during the first half of 1923 the deposits were increased more than 8 per cent.

The Most Reverend Nathan Soederblom, Archbishop of Upsala, Primate for the Church of Sweden, Pro-Chancellor of the University of Upsala, and "the best-loved man in Northern Europe," landed in New York on Sept. 25 and has since made a strong appeal for the League of Nations.

RUSSIA AND BALTIC STATES

By A. PETRUNKEVITCH

Professor of Zoology, Yale University

RUSSIA is still only slowly recuperating under the influence of the new economic policy inaugurated some time ago, which amounts to a gradual renunciation of almost all the principles of theoretical communism, for the practical application of which so much blood had been spilled in the devastating civil war. Still cowed by vigorous oppression and weary of bloodshed, physical suffering and general impoverishment, the mass of the people have given up hope of directing their own destinies, and silently and sullenly continue their respective pursuits.

Foreign travelers who have recently returned from Russia have brought widely differing accounts of what is actually happening in that country. In part this glaring divergence of opinion may be attributed to lack of knowledge of the Russian language and of the character and history of the people; in part it may be explained by the fact that the Russian Government still surrounds distinguished visitors with an efficient barrier of obliging officials whose task it is to prevent the curious from obtaining a glimpse of true conditions. But not all contradictions contained in reports of foreign observers are referable to these causes. Some of them exist in reality. They make themselves felt in every nook and corner of the federated republic, in outlying districts as well as in Moscow and Petrograd, and give a strange coloring to everyday life.

Professor Piip, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Esthonia and now editor of the *Waba Maa* of Riga, returned to that city early in October after a visit to Moscow, Petrograd, Nizhni Novgorod and other Russian centres. Presenting his views on present conditions in Soviet Russia, he said: "Russia has passed through a very severe crisis with her experiment in social revolution. The experiment has failed and Russia has changed her course, having abandoned the essential features of this experiment. Life has

proved stronger than theory and economic laws have demonstrated their immutability." Professor Piip was a lecturer at Petrograd University before the revolution.

The trial of Patriarch Tikhon and the activity of the New Living Church have not only been barren of desired results, but actually have strengthened the opposition to the Government in religious matters. Common workmen, members of the Communist Party, have been brought to trial and expelled from the party because of their moral weakness in permitting themselves to be persuaded by their sweethearts to be married in church, even though the priest in some cases belonged to the New Church. At the same time Metropolitan Evdokim of the New Church had to flee from an enraged crowd in Viatka, and Viedensky, another leader of the New Church, was howled down at a meeting in which enemies and friends of the deposed Patriarch met in a heated debate. Though conspicuously placed placards denounce religion as "opium for the people," devout followers of the old church have declared in defiance of the new order that they are ready to die for his Holiness Tikhon.

Since the right to possess private property has been restored and the principle of private ownership once more, if only partially, recognized, further strides in the same direction have been made. In the Council of Peoples Commissars recognition of authors' rights was urged and even the question of inheritance under certain restrictions proposed. Confronted with the necessity of maintaining an enormous army of officials vastly in excess of anything known in other countries, of keeping up an efficient and trustworthy military organization and of defraying all other expenses, the Government had recourse to the old method of floating an internal gold loan on a lottery basis. *Pravda*, the official organ of the Communist Party referred to this lottery in heavy type as follows: "The two con-

ditions necessary to become rich by winning 100,000 gold rubles in the second issue of the gold loan." The introduction of a new gold standard, the so-called chervonetz, has apparently somewhat helped to stabilize the value of certain commodities, but the ruble has continued to fluctuate and taxes in kind have been difficult to collect. Peasants have made every effort to palm off older corn on the State and to sell the new corn to private dealers who pay much better prices. The Government was forced to create a State Corn Inspectorate with powers to examine the corn and to issue certificates, without which no corn could be accepted for export trade. Failure of crops in several districts has reduced the estimated surplus of 8,500,000 tons of grain available for export to about 4,000,000 tons, according to a statement made by Krassin.

The "First International Peasants' Conference," which the Moscow press compared in potential importance with the first conference in 1919 of the leading organization of the Third International, opened in the Kremlin Oct. 10 with 100 delegates present from twenty countries, including the United States, Argentina and Mexico. Its object was the creation of a world-wide peasant farmers' body, comparable to the Bolshevik trade unions.

Even the sale of governmental newspapers has been steadily falling off, necessitating the introduction of a new tax on cows owned by peasants of certain districts and making the ownership of a cow contingent upon a subscription fee of 500,-

000 rubles. If we remember that governmental edicts published by the daily press are still the only laws under which the people must live, and that the bulk of the paper is given over to propaganda of communism, we can well understand the dismay of the ruling party at the sight of a rapidly decreasing circulation. The number of Soviet papers dropped in six months from 805 to 299 and the aggregate circulation from 2,661,000 to 993,000, according to the *Izvestiya*, which laments the fact and attributes it to the poor material with which the papers are filled, "so that readers got sick and tired of it, once and forever." A recent decree of the Commissariats for Education and for Foreign Trade requires also a special export license for all printed matter except certain newspapers.

The "corrupting" influence of the new economic policy has continued to be the subject of animated discussion and the cause of friction between the Right and Left wing of the Communist Party. With Lenin incapacitated for leadership and public activity, the party has been left without its chief exponent of the new policy. Externally the governmental machine has continued to work smoothly, chiefly because there are no other aspirants for office while the military power is in the hands of the Bolsheviks. But the dissension is emphasized by the attitude of the various leaders toward foreign Governments. Though the more moderate leaders have been doing their utmost to find a basis of understanding with foreign Governments, and have even suggested the possibility of assuming respon-



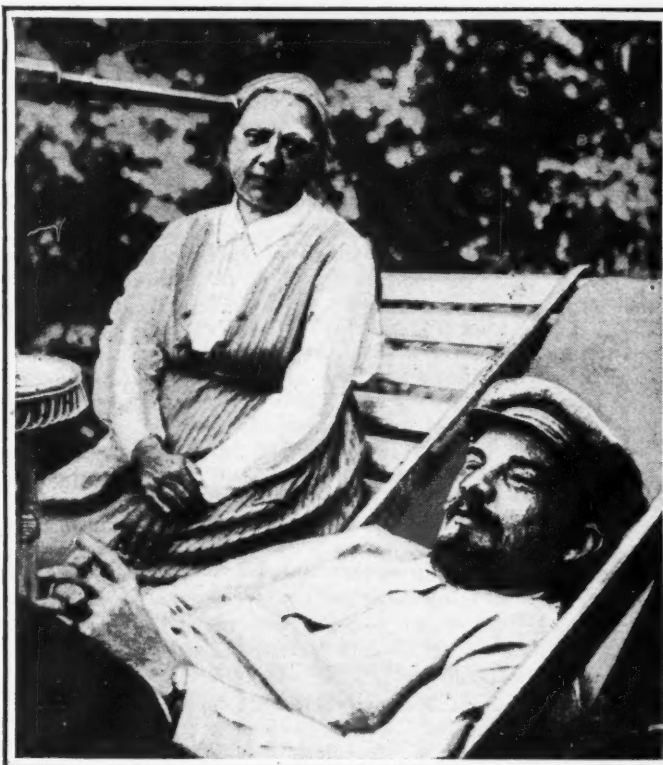
Pacific and Atlantic Photos

The creation of a new currency which is stabilizing the finances of Soviet Russia is illustrated by this piece of paper, which represents the new unit known as a chervonetz. The new currency is secured by gold in the Russian Treasury, and on this basis one chervonetz is worth about \$4.85.

sibility for foreign loans contracted by the Czar's Government in the event of Soviet Russia's political recognition, the more radical leaders continued their attacks on capitalistic countries, preaching and expecting the approach of a proletarian world revolution. Nor are the common followers belonging to both wings slack in supporting their leaders. At a political demonstration in Moscow banners were displayed with the following legend in Russian: "Hit Poincaré on his ugly mug and the Lord (meaning Lord Curzon) on his snout!" And at a meeting organized by the Communist Party in a suburb of Moscow, workers broke up the meeting with cries of "Zinovieff and all of you are thieves and scoundrels!"

Arrests for political offenses continued and even increased, the Government being afraid of counter-revolutionary plots, although no serious outbreak has been apparent anywhere. Morbid suspicion and informing pure and simple against perfectly innocent men, accusing them of secret dealings with French and British statesmen for the overthrow of the Bolshevik Government by armed forces or of treasonable activity in Russia itself, have been sufficient to instigate wholesale arrests. Hundreds of people have been thrown into jail, and not a few of them have considered themselves fortunate that instead of death a sentence of exile to small towns in the districts of Archangel and Vologda was meted out. The average citizen fears to give any support or work to political exiles lest the suspicion of Government officials be drawn to himself.

The chief concern and object of the Political State Department has been to discover the secret channels through which true information concerning conditions in Russia has been steadily leaking out of the country, finding its way to the Russian press in foreign countries as well as to the foreign press and the State Departments of foreign Governments. All attempts to discover these channels have as yet failed, though house-to-house searches in the dead of



Keystone

Lenin recuperating after the illness which has prevented him from taking an active part in the direction of Russian affairs. Sitting beside him is his wife, his sole companion while he is absent from Moscow

night have continued unabated and strike terror to hearts of peaceful citizens.

Even in the field of education contradictions have been the order of life. The lack of teachers has been more evident than ever and schools and school supplies have been quite inadequate to meet the great need for literate people from whom material for future teachers must be drawn. Propaganda of communism in schools and universities has been kept up vigorously, and even younger university professors have not always been able to escape attending obligatory courses in communism given for their especial benefit. Yet even under the most adverse conditions scientific research has continued and the exchange of scientific publications with foreign scientists and institutions is on the increase.

Meanwhile the evolution of character and mind has progressed to such an extent that the differences between the representatives of the old order living as refugees in foreign countries and those of the new order in Russia itself must strike even the most casual observer. The changes in the language itself in current use by

the Russian daily press is a witness to these differences. They emphasize the diversity and the contradictory character of the factors involved in the continuing process of slow recuperation and change.

FINLAND

FINLAND is one of the few countries of Europe that have balanced their budgets, according to Allan Juselius, General Man-

ager of the Union Bank, one of the largest Finnish financial institutions. In the fiscal year just ended, he said when in New York early in October, Finland met all its financial obligations, had a substantial surplus and had begun regular payments on its war debt to the United States. He mentioned the news print industry as one that had been developed to large proportions and had helped materially in the country's return to prosperity. Additional capital was needed, he said, to develop resources further.

EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS

By **FREDERIC A. OGC**

Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin

BULGARIA

THE outstanding feature of Bulgarian politics in the early Autumn was a nationwide Communist insurrection which for a time threatened not only to overturn the Tsankoff Ministry, but to bring down the entire governmental system in collapse preparatory to the establishment of a Soviet Republic on the Russian model. The coup of June 9, which installed the bourgeois and military elements in office, left the peasants leaderless and more than usually susceptible to Communist wooing. Stambulisky, leader of the Agrarians, was dead; Daskaloff, second in command, had been murdered in exile; other men of prominence in the party were in prison. Hitherto communism of the Russian stripe had got only a limited hold upon the country, but now its recruits began to be numbered by the tens of thousands; and by early September a revolution was admittedly imminent.

The Government spared no effort to forestall the uprising. It caused the arrest of hundreds of Communist leaders and agitators, though many contrived to escape across the borders, and its agents carried on relentless search in houses and offices for incriminating evidence. Some documents unearthed in the Russian Red Cross Mission indicated that the movement was inspired and largely directed from Moscow. Tchitcherin declared that the papers had been "planted" by the Tsankoff Government. But the latter entered a flat denial and proclaimed to the world that the fight which it was waging was not against Bulgarian revolutionists alone, but also against the Third International.

Starting in the north and east, the insurrection got well under way by Sept. 18. Bands of Communists attacked the police stations and barracks at Stara Zagora, Nova Zagora, Tchirpan and other towns, with a view to liberating imprisoned comrades, and within a few days every important

section of the country, including the capital, became a scene of active disorder. Abroad, Bulgarian legations continued to deny that there was any insurrection at all, but at Sofia King Boris, on Sept. 22, signed decrees which quite belied these representations, one reconstructing the Cabinet, another dissolving Parliament, and a third proclaiming a state of siege. The week of Sept. 23 saw hard fighting all over the country. Hundreds of peasants were killed in skirmishes with the cavalry sent out to check their advance upon Sofia, and the Government forces also suffered heavy losses. At the most critical moment, when Sofia was practically blockaded in both a military and an economic sense, King Boris offered to resign, but the Ministry dissuaded him.

The decisive battle was fought on Sept. 26-28 in the City of Ferdinandovo and the village of Berkovitz, half way from Sofia on the Danube, where 5,000 insurrectionists, after having proclaimed a Soviet Republic and seized control of the adjoining country, were surrounded, besieged and eventually taken prisoners. Lesser centres of disturbance were dealt with similarly, and, in all some fifty Soviet "Republics" established by the Communists in various towns were suppressed. By the end of the month the country was again tranquil, although a thousand of the insurrectionists had taken refuge in the mountains of Tchirovitze, whose crest marks the line of the Serbo-Bulgarian frontier, with the apparent intention of passing in isolated bands into Yugoslavia.

When the uprising was at its height the Government, alleging that the maximum army allowed to Bulgaria by the Treaty of Neuilly was inadequate to cope with insurrection on a national scale, asked and obtained from the allied powers permission to strengthen the seven regiments by adding 1,000 men to each of them. This step has been viewed with apprehension by neighboring Balkan States, and there have been misgivings elsewhere. The Bulgarian delegation to

the League of Nations has, however, issued a statement affirming that the Government and people of Bulgaria are "firmly and sincerely devoted to peace" and suggesting, if doubt lingers in any quarter, that the matter be submitted to an international inquiry.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE exceptionally favorable economic position now occupied by Czechoslovakia has been freshly demonstrated by recent trade journal reports showing the steady improvement which is going on in the iron and steel industry and in the engineering trades generally. Home consumption of iron, steel and other products is growing, and the export trade, especially to the Balkan States, is greater than ever before. Another even more striking indication of the country's present well-being is supplied by a diagram lately issued by the banking office of the Ministry of Finance, showing the movement of the Czechoslovak crown and other European monetary units on the New York Exchange during the first six months of 1923. Except for the English pound, the Czechoslovak crown was during this period the most stable of all European currencies, varying only between \$3.07 and \$2.025 per 100 crowns.

POLAND

REPLYING to reports in the French newspapers and elsewhere to the effect that Poland is a candidate for admission to the Little Entente, the Foreign Office at Warsaw has announced that though the Polish Government is friendly to the States belonging to this alliance, and to the alliance itself, its present needs are met by the defensive alliance of 1921 with France and Rumania and the arbitration agreement of the same year with Czechoslovakia. At the same time it is acknowledged that Polish statesmen have been working on a plan for a Central European league, to be based on not only the treaties of Trianon and Sévres, but also the Treaty of Versailles and the treaties made at Riga and elsewhere with the Soviet authorities. Discussion of this project has been entered upon with Rumania and one or two other minor powers. The development of leagues and alignments within the membership of the League of Nations thus promises, for good or ill, to continue.

JUGOSLAVIA

THE Italo-Yugoslav crisis which arose in early September on the question of Fiume has been tied over by mutual agreement to continue negotiations; and the discussions have been going on intermittently at Rome for several weeks. Notwithstanding bellicose talk on both sides,

neither nation wanted war. In point of fact, at the very moment when the dispute was at its height it was officially announced that both States had agreed to the registration with the League of Nations of the Treaty of Rapallo of Nov. 12, 1920, and the subsidiary conventions signed at Santa Margherita in the Spring of 1922.

One of the provisions of the Rapallo treaty is that the President of Switzerland shall be called in to arbitrate any dispute arising therefrom. Signor Mussolini, however, shrinking from possible complications with Italy's neighbor on the north, has preferred the method of direct negotiation; and the Yugoslav authorities, though preferring arbitration, with final resort to the League of Nations, have been willing, on the whole, to meet him half way. At the end of September the discussions centred around the latest Italian proposal, which provided that Italy should annex the Italian part of Fiume, that Yugoslavia should annex the Slav section, and that the ports of Fiume and Porto Barros should be administered, as an entity, by a mixed commission. Meanwhile the contested territory languished in the state of complete commercial and industrial inactivity which has prevailed there since the close of the war.

It was made known early in October that Yugoslavia and Greece had concluded an agreement by which Yugoslavia is to enjoy the use of the port of Saloniki. This will give the Yugoslavs the southern outlet in the Aegean, which they have desired for virtually half a century, and will restore to Saloniki the commercial importance it formerly possessed as the entrepot controlling the foreign trade of the Western Balkan region. The agreement represented the conclusion of a treaty entered into by Dr. Pasitch of Serbia and M. Venizelos of Greece in 1914, the execution of which was prevented by the outbreak of the World War.

HUNGARY

TWO visiting Magyar statesmen—Count Albert Apponyi and Professor Oscar Jaszi—have of late brought afresh to American attention the difficulties and needs of post-war Hungary. The railwaymen's strike, which paralyzed transportation in the late Summer, collapsed during the first week of August, but political strife, accompanied by terroristic military rule, has kept the country in turmoil. Count Bethlen's Cabinet has been under continuous fire from the Right Radicals and other elements in Parliament. Monarchist sentiment will not down, and on Oct. 3 it was reported from Madrid that former Empress Zita had secretly left her home in Bilboa for Munich in quest of aid from former Crown Prince Rupprecht in regaining the Hun-

garian throne. Count Apponyi, it may be noted, is an ardent supporter of her cause.

Aside from a stable and generally accepted system of government, the greatest need of the country is a loan with which to carry out the same sort of fiscal rehabilitation that has proved the salvation of Austria. As yet, no plan to this end has proved feasible. On Sept. 22, however, an agreement was reached between Hungary and the States of the Little Entente which it was hoped would enable the Reparation Commission to refer the question of a Hungarian loan to the Finance Committee of the League of Nations, with a view to getting the matter before the League Council at its meeting in December. Meanwhile Count Apponyi has sought a loan in the United States, although Professor Jaszi has felt obliged to sound a warning that if the money is obtained it will be used to restore monarchy at Budapest.

GREECE

THE extremely critical situation precipitated by Italy's demands upon Greece following the Janina murders at the end of August was eased by the Greek Government's acceptance, on Sept. 9, of the terms of settlement proposed by the Council of Ambassadors and by Italy's agreement, four days later, to withdraw from Corfu and the Greek islands before Oct. 1. In accordance with the Council's prescription, the Greek Government deposited 50,000,000 lire with the Swiss National Bank as a forfeit, and on Sept. 19 Greek warships fired a salute of twenty-one guns to the Italian flag flown from a war vessel in Phaleron Harbor.

Meanwhile the British, French and Japanese officers designated by the Council of Ambassadors to investigate the massacre arrived at Janina and entered upon their task. A report was forthcoming, though not made public, on Sept. 22. The Greek Government was exonerated from direct responsibility for the murders, but was held to have been negligent after the act in not taking more vigorous steps to apprehend the assassins. Accordingly, the deposit in the Swiss National Bank was declared to have been forfeited, and on Sept. 29 the Bank of Italy was informed that the sum would be turned over to it forthwith, to be placed to the credit of the Italian Government.

Contrary to predictions in some quarters that Mussolini's Government would never actually withdraw its ships from Corfu, the various naval units were ordered back to their regular bases as the stipulated period drew to a close; although it must be added that the Greeks later protested that some Italian vessels were allowed to remain in near-by waters in violation of the settlement. Dispatches of Oct. 8 stated that the international commission desired to make further investigations

and present additional reports; but all evidences indicated that the incident was considered closed.

The conclusion of peace with Turkey, and the settlement of the incident of Corfu left Greece free to engage in the preparations for the electoral struggle. The Revolutionary Committee has decreed that the election will be held on Dec. 2. There is every evidence that the campaign will be waged with bitterness on both sides.

The new Chamber when elected will be made up of 250 members. The revolution has established two ways of voting, the one by ballot as in America, the other by the old system of casting small lead balls into a box which is divided into two sections, white and black, the voter depositing his little ball in the one for Yes and the other for No. Electoral constituencies have been narrowed, as was the purpose of the revolution. The refugee vote is to be included.

The following parties will take part in the election: The Venizelist Liberals under General Danglis, the Republican Liberals under Mr. Papanastassiou, the party of the so-called working classes under Mr. Charilaos, the Agricultural Party under Mr. Schliemann, Greek ex-Minister to the United States, the Macedonian Youth Party under Mr. Bussios, the Conservative Party under Mr. Ballis, and, finally, the Party of Freedom under General Ioannis Metaxas.

The elections will be formally proclaimed by the King on Nov. 2, on which day the censorship and martial law will be lifted for the campaign. The revolution has stated that it will impartially support all parties with the exception of that under Mr. Metaxas.

On Sept. 30 the Kemalist priest, Papa Efthymios, who had himself appointed chief of the "Turkish Orthodox Church" in Kaisserieh early in 1922, and was therefore excommunicated by the Constantinople Patriarchate, went to Constantinople, and taking advantage of the departure of the allied troops, appeared in the Patriarchate and peremptorily demanded the dismissal of the de facto Patriarch Meletios, and of his Locum Tenens Nicolaus. The Oecumenical Synod was powerless to resist and promptly complied with the request of Papa Efthymios, who appointed as Patriarchal Locum Tenens the Metropolitan of Rodopolis. At the same time Efthymios had himself appointed special Patriarchal delegate at Angora.

The entrance of the Turkish troops into Constantinople has convinced the Greeks resident there that there is no more room for them in the new Byzantium. Greece, therefore, is looking forward to more refugees, who now constitute one of the biggest problems the country is facing. Although the League of Nations has promised to help, it is apparent that nothing will be done until a more stable régime has been established in Athens as the result of the next general election.

TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

Professor of History, University of Illinois

THE occupation of Constantinople by forces of the Eentente Allies came formally to an end at noon on Oct. 2 by a simple ceremony in the square in front of Dolma Baghcheh Palace. Detachments of Turkish, French, Italian and British troops gathered and were inspected by their Generals. Flags were saluted mutually, the allied commanders said farewell to the Turkish Military Governor and the foreign forces abandoned Turkish soil in the presence of cheering crowds. The American High Commissioner, Rear Admiral Mark L. Bristol, was present in civilian attire, but took no part in the ceremony.

The process of evacuating thousands of troops and large quantities of war material and equipment, with the departure of transports and battle-ships, has been going on quietly for several weeks. One cruiser and two destroyers from each of the three powers are to remain in the harbor until December.

Had the occupation continued another six weeks it would have completed its fifth year. It has lasted one year longer than Turkey's participation in the great war. By waiting and fighting, the Turks alone among the defeated nations have obtained fulfillment of the promises made to them before surrender. These promises were not generous. They involved a thorough trimming down of the Ottoman Empire into a Turkish national State. But the Treaty of Sèvres and its accompanying agreements would have gone much further, with the severance of territories inhabited by Turkish majorities, the division of the remainder into spheres of influence, and the imposition of a foreign control wholly incompatible with independence. The new Turkey is impoverished and decimated, but it has approximately its ethnographical boundaries, and it is not enslaved.

Constantinople is no longer a capital city, and does not control its own destinies. On Oct. 6 the "Iron Brigade" of Nationalist Turkish veterans, commanded by General Shukri Naili, marched into the city amid great rejoicing and was received at the Old Palace, now a public park, with a solemn religious ceremony. The celebration continued into the night, and led to some disorders. Two days later strict orders came from Angora to put into force immediately the rigid prohibition law, which was enacted some months ago but has been suspended several times. A cynic might remark that the Moslems did not really prohibit the sale of intoxicants until the profits had ceased owing to

the departure of so many Christians. The order is out to substitute Turkish for foreign languages in all street signs and moving pictures. The telephone, railway and tramway companies are to discharge all non-Turkish employes within one month.

Fethi Bey, the new Prime Minister, read his program to the Assembly at Angora on Sept. 5. It is sensible and adapted to the difficult situation. The first aim is to balance the budget; strict economy will be enforced and borrowing will be avoided, except for roads, bridges and railways; measures will be taken to insure the payment of internal and foreign debts; at the same time, for the relief of farmers, the tithe on agricultural products will be reduced to 10 per cent.; other taxation will be revised. The army and navy will be reduced to the lowest possible limits. The police is to be strengthened, and brigandage suppressed. Education is to be furthered, prisons are to be reformed and civil and military officers are to receive better treatment.

The Turkish form of government is being modified rapidly to become that of a republic. The head of the House of Osman, Abdul Mejid II., has been deprived of all political power, and holds only the religious office of Caliph. The male adults of the nation elect a Grand National Assembly for four years, which has sovereign legislative power. The Assembly elects its President, who is practically President of the nation, for four years. Executive power is in the hands of a Prime Minister and Cabinet, who are collectively responsible to the Assembly. It is proposed that the President be assisted by a Council of State, appointed by himself. President Mustapha Kemal Pasha is already confronted with a certain amount of opposition, chiefly from monarchists and religious reactionaries. Dissatisfaction is increased by the very bad economic situation.

The Ottoman-American Development Company on Oct. 3 asked the Turkish Government to extend by five months the time of filing notice of the definite acceptance of that one of the "Chester Concessions" which deals with the Samsoun-Sivas and Angora-Moussakeny railways. Turkish opinion is deeply concerned at the prospective postponement and possible failure of these American enterprises.

The Greek authorities handed over Karaghatch, the southwestern suburb of Adrianople, to the Turks on Sept. 16. Placing no reliance on the protection of the Treaty of Lausanne, all Greeks

had abandoned the city, taking with them everything movable.

The Near East Relief organization has ceased to feed adult refugees in Anatolia. All such have been removed from Constantinople to Greece, but numbers remain at Samsoun and other ports. The headquarters and stores of the Near East Relief are being transferred from Constantinople to Athens.

EGYPT

THE Nationalist leader, Zaghloul Pasha, after a period of exile under British surveillance and a residence in France, returned to Egypt in the middle of September. He was received everywhere with great enthusiasm, even the Cabinet offering him a formal welcome. He affirmed the intention of working unceasingly for the complete independence of Egypt.

The Egyptian Government proclaimed various amendments to the Egyptian penal code in the direction of controlling the press, forbidding Government employes to strike, and penalizing rioters who damage property. On Sept. 8 a French subject published the first issue of a new daily newspaper, after having been refused permission to do so. The Government promptly ordered its suppression. The owner appealed to the French Consul, on the ground that because of the Capitulations, the Press law was not applicable to him. The question challenges the right of any foreigner to publish in Egypt. The new paper was in support of Zaghloul Pasha.

In September King Fuad appointed Ministers to represent Egypt at London, Paris, Rome and Washington. An election was held Sept. 27 of delegates to choose Deputies for the first Egyptian Parliament.

The dispute between the Egyptian and Hedjaz Governments over the annual pilgrimage to Mecca continued. It appears that Egypt is anxious lest the Hedjaz by insisting on fixed money payments should endeavor to establish suzerainty. The Egyptian Government on Oct. 8 withdrew its recognition of Alexis Smirnoff, who represented Russia in Egypt from 1905 to 1917. During the last six years his salary has been paid out of the Egyptian Treasury, and he has looked after the thousands of Russian refugees in Egypt. The salary is now discontinued, and the Russian refugees are declared outside the benefits of the Capitulations.

The British authorities hanged on Sept. 10 three Egyptians who had been found by the British Military Court in Cairo guilty of outrages against British officials and soldiers.

Mr. Howard Carter, who was associated with the late Earl of Carnarvon in excavations at the tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen, has returned to Egypt in order to resume work at the tomb.

PALESTINE

A REPRESENTATIVE of King Hussein of the Hedjaz announced at a reception of the Moslem-Christian Association at Jerusalem on Aug. 22 that the King would not sign the proposed Anglo-Arab treaty unless it should provide for the complete and absolute independence of Palestine, including the unconditional right "to join the Arab confederation of States in fulfillment of British pledges. * * * This modification leaves the Balfour Declaration ineffective."

The Moslem Supreme Council announced the opening of the Moslem University of Jerusalem on Oct. 5. The model is El-Azhar at Cairo, which emphasizes the Koran and the studies clustered around it. The Latin Patriarch is also projecting a university at Jerusalem for Palestinian Arabs, to have ultimately four Faculties, of Medicine, Engineering, Law and Letters.

Sir Alfred Mond, member of the British House of Commons, opened in New York a campaign for the Palestine Restoration Fund. On Oct. 9 Bishop MacInness of Jerusalem stated in London that there is "fixed and bitter opposition on the part of all natives of Palestine—Moslem, Christian, and a large number of orthodox Jews—to the Zionists and to the policy of the British Government that fathered Zionism."

Sir Herbert Samuel, High Commissioner, on Oct. 11 made a statement on behalf of the British Government to representative Arabs, including Mayors, members of the Arab Executive of the Moslem Supreme Council and other bodies. The statement, which offered an Arab agency equivalent in scope and powers to the Jewish agency authorized under the mandate, had been unfavorably received by Arab extremists and also by an important section of the Jews when its substance became known some days earlier. It was uncompromising on the subject of the Balfour declaration of 1917, Sir Herbert saying that the present Government had adopted the same view as its predecessors, regarding it as an international obligation from which there could be no question of receding.

TRANSJORDANIA

THE Adwan tribesmen made an attack upon Amman on Sept. 16, cutting telephone and telegraph lines and blockading travel. The following day the Emir Abdullah's troops routed them, killing about thirty, with no casualties on the Emir's side, except that an English aeronaut was wounded slightly. The tribe was disaffected on financial grounds.

An Amman editor proclaims that "the time has come for a general conference at Mecca to select a Caliph, and who is more suitable than King Hussein?"

SYRIA

A BAND of Kurds, said to have been led by Turkish officers, captured a French outpost near Nisibin on July 27, and beheaded all the prisoners. On Aug. 14 another band robbed a caravan forty miles east of Aleppo, killing three men.

The French discovered a plot in Syria to facilitate the entrance of the Turks, and tried the conspirators by court-martial. Sentences were passed involving banishment, confiscation of property and imprisonment of from five to twenty years.

The French authorities in setting up a Federal Government for Syria (excluding the Lebanon) are arranging to hold an election for an Assembly. Determined opposition, involving a boycott of the elections, has developed, on the ground that the powers and duties of the Assembly have not been defined, so that it may be used by the French to dictate laws to the Syrians.

IRAQ

SIR PERCY COX ceased to be High Commissioner of Iraq on Sept. 15, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Dobbs. Sir Percy's report

on the finances, administration and condition of Iraq from Oct. 1, 1920, to March 31, 1922, was published on Sept. 1. This covers the transition from military rule through a Provisional Government to the kingship of Emir Faisal. The tribal situation, the institution of a police force, agricultural prospects, the illegal importations of arms through Syria and Central Arabia, the repatriation of 50,000 Armenians and Assyrians, finance and a plan for a university at Bagdad are also discussed.

Religious animosity between Sunnites and Shiites has embittered the relations between Iraq and Persia. The press continues to agitate for the dismissal of all Hindus and as many Englishmen as possible. The feeling toward Turkey is friendly. It is feared that Iba Sa'oud, no longer in receipt of a subsidy from Great Britain, may send raiders into Iraq.

Elections are in progress for a Constituent Assembly, to which will be presented the treaty with Great Britain.

PERSIA

FEELING has been running high in Persia against Iraq and Great Britain. Sheik Mahdi el Kalisi, a Persian religious leader, was expelled from Iraq in July on the charge of in-



A typical village in the Lebanon Valley

terfering with the elections. Nine other prominent ulemas, with twenty-five supporters, decided to leave for Persia in protest. The Persian Crown Prince went to Kum to greet them. Late in August the Persian Government dismissed all Iraqis in its employ. Early in September a large gathering of ulemas at Teheran initiated a boy-

cott of British goods and of all imports via Mesopotamia.

Between Sept. 17 and 24 earthquake shocks were felt in the regions of Bujnurd, Meshed, Shirvan and Kirman. Near the first named place several villages were destroyed, with some loss of life.

CHINA AND JAPAN

By PAYSON J. TREAT

Professor of History at Stanford University

CHINA was without a President from June 13, when President Li Yuan-hung, threatened by the militarists, fled from Peking to Tientsin, until Oct. 10, when Tsao Kun was inaugurated. In Peking a Regent Ministry, led by Dr. Wellington Koo, Foreign Minister, had acted as an executive body, supported by the Chihli military party. Ex-President Li repudiated his resignation and tried to assemble a majority of the Parliament at Shanghai. During these months the election of General Tsao Kun was frequently predicted, but the step was not taken until Oct. 5, when a majority of the Parliament was assembled in Peking and 480 out of 588 votes (a quorum being about 580) were cast for the veteran military leader. On the day of the inauguration the Constitution which Parliament, off and on, has been preparing for the last twelve years was promulgated. A Vice President was yet to be elected.

Marshal Tsao rose from the ranks. A veteran of the Sino-Japanese War, he was a general officer at the end of the Manchu régime, and later a loyal supporter of Yuan Shih-kai. In 1917 he was appointed Tuchun (Military Governor) of Chihli, the metropolitan province, and soon became the leader of the Chihli military party. That year he united with Tuan Chi-jui to overthrow Chang Hsun, who had restored the Manchu Emperor. In 1920 he united with Chang Tso-lin, the War Lord of Manchuria, to overthrow Tuan Chi-jui and his associates, known as the Anfu Club. By this time he was Inspector General of Chihli, Shantung and Honan provinces. His General, Wu Pei-fu, defeated the invasion of Chang Tso-lin in 1922.

The attitude of Sun Yat-sen, in Canton, and Chang Tso-lin, in Manchuria, toward this election is reported to be hostile, and that of Wu Pei-fu doubtful. On Oct. 6 the Cabinet issued a decree prolonging the life of Parliament until its successors are elected. The term of the present members would have expired on Oct. 10.

China continues to be the scene of civil strife and internal disorder. The forces of Sun Yat-sen are engaged in military operations in the

South. Civil strife is reported at Amoy and in Szechuan and Hunan provinces. British, American and Japanese ships have been fired upon on the Upper Yangtse. Bandit raids have been of frequent occurrence. On Sept. 22 two women missionaries were carried off by bandits in Honan. A Government proclamation exhorted the Inspecting Generals and military officers of the "brigand-ridden provinces," viz., Kiangsu, Anhui, Shantung and Honan, to combine their forces with those of the civil officials to take adequate measures to suppress the repeated outrages.

The Peking Government, on Sept. 24, expressed its readiness to make reparation for the losses incurred by foreigners in the train outrage of May 6, but rejected, as infringement upon its sovereignty, the demands that high officials be punished and measures be taken for the protection of railways. A second note, reiterating the original demands, was presented by the diplomatic corps on Oct. 4. A proposal for railway guards, under foreign direction, has been placed before the diplomatic body in Peking by Great Britain, and a counter-proposal has been advanced by China. The British proposal has been generally opposed by the Chinese press, and Japan has hesitated to accept it, apparently because of her present policy of conciliation.

The proposal of Sir Robert Hotung, a prominent Hongkong Chinese, for a round-table conference of the leaders of the different Chinese factions to discuss plans for the reunion of the country and the disbandment of the swollen military forces, has been approved, it is reported, by Sun Yat-sen, Li Yuan-hung and Chang Tso-lin.

JAPAN

AN official dispatch from Tokio to the Japanese Embassy at Washington, on Oct. 1, placed the number of known dead in the earthquake zone at 103,000, the injured at 125,000, and the missing at 235,000. The houses destroyed numbered 534,000, while 1,068,000 persons had left the city of Tokio. At the same time the American Red Cross officials in Japan

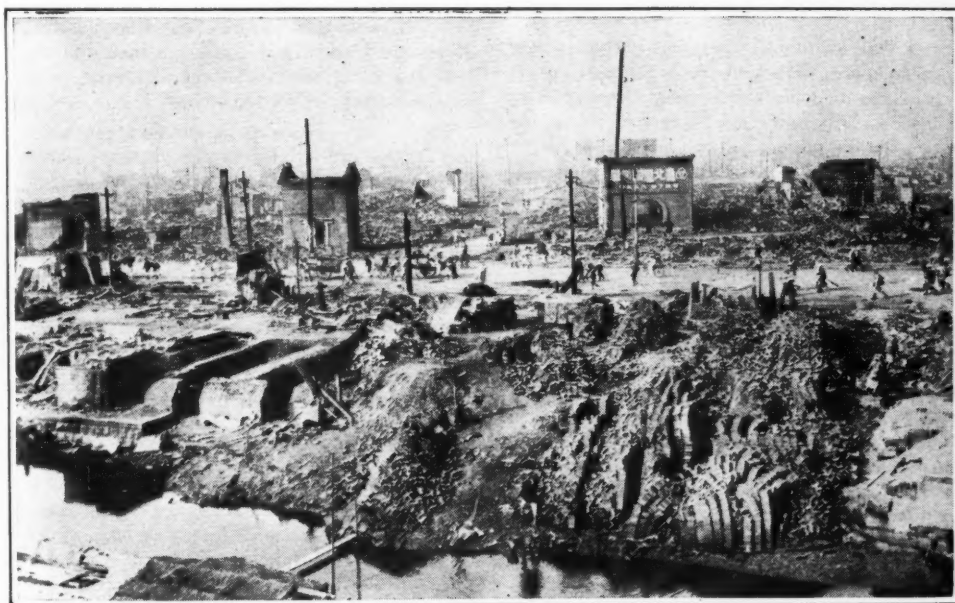
estimated the number of killed as 225,000, and those wholly or partially destitute at 2,000,000. An urgent imperial ordinance of Sept. 24 provided for the immediate appropriation of 100,000,000 yen (\$50,000,000), to relieve the pressing necessities of the homeless earthquake sufferers, in addition to 520,000,000 previously reported.

A Commission for the Reconstruction of Tokio has been created under the direction of the Prince Regent, with Count Yamamoto, the Premier, as President, and members of the Cabinet and representatives of political and business organizations. The prompt and generous response of the American Asiatic Squadron and the American people to the needs of stricken Japan has been deeply appreciated. On Sept. 24 the American Red Cross reported a total subscription of \$9,702,700. Of especial interest is the fact that the Pacific division more than trebled the amount of its original quota.

On the death of Premier Baron Kato, on Aug. 24, Count Uchida, Minister of Foreign Affairs, served for a few days as Acting Premier. According to custom the members of the Kato Ministry submitted their resignations to the Prince Regent, who in turn consulted with the Elder Statesmen and others concerning the appointment of a new Premier. The surviving Elder Statesmen are Prince Matsukata, aged 83, and Prince Saionji, aged 84. Although the Seiyukai (Constitutional) Party held a clear majority of seats in the House of Representatives, the advisers of the Regent decided against a party Cabinet.

To the surprise of many observers, Admiral Count Yamamoto was instructed by the Prince Regent, on Aug. 28, to form a Ministry. Count Yamamoto is a distinguished retired naval officer, a member of the Satsuma clan, one of the two dominant groups in Japan since the restoration. From 1898 until 1906 he was Minister of the Navy, and in 1913-14, Premier. His Ministry fell because of intense popular indignation at the naval scandals which were brought to light at that time. The new Ministry includes Viscount Goto, one of the most influential political figures in Japan, a member of several Cabinets as Minister of Communications, Home Affairs and Foreign Affairs, and more recently Mayor of Tokio.

At first mentioned in connection with the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, Viscount Goto chose Home Affairs instead. A few days later Tokio was destroyed, and his department will be charged with much of the work of rehabilitation, for which his services as Mayor and his city planning activities peculiarly qualify him. Mr. Inukai, a veteran Liberal leader, has accepted the portfolio of Communications. Baron Ijuin, an experienced diplomat, who is considered friendly to both the United States and China, succeeded Count Uchida in the Foreign Office, and Mr. Inouye, Governor of the Bank of Japan and a financial expert of high repute, became Minister of Finance. The Yamamoto Ministry is supported by no political party at present. The prefectural elections, which were due later in



Wide World

A general view of Tokio after the fire which swept the city as a result of the earthquake

the month, have been postponed because of the destruction of the election folls.

Considerable alarm has been occasioned in business circles by the continued boycott on Japanese trade in China. This movement has spread from China to outlying regions, such as

the Dutch East Indies and French Indo-China, where Chinese middlemen are important factors in trade. To the present the Japanese Government has refrained from strong representations to China, although violation of treaty rights has been frequently reported.

MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

Associate Professor of Latin-American History,
University of Texas

MEXICO

INTERNAL rather than international matters have been of chief interest in Mexico during the past month. In the Presidential campaign events have been rapid and of far-reaching importance. On Sept. 6 General Plutarco Calles, late Minister of the Interior, issued a preliminary platform in which he endorsed the international, agrarian, financial and labor policies of President Obregon and, in addition, came out for more advanced social legislation. Although Calles has long been a member of the Co-operatista Party, as early as Sept. 14 a majority of the Co-operatista Deputies announced themselves in favor of Finance Minister Adolfo de la Huerta becoming a candidate for the Presidency, and called upon Calles to release de la Huerta from an apparent obligation not to oppose him for the Presidency.

The action of the Co-operatista majority met with such approval that by Sept. 20 many de la Huerta clubs had been organized from Sonora to Tabasco, forty-four being reported from the State of Puebla alone. Four days later de la Huerta's resignation as Finance Minister was received and accepted by President Obregon, after which the former is reported to have assured the Co-operatista majority that he was then free to reconsider his determination not to oppose General Calles. Since then de la Huerta has gone into seclusion to rest for a month without having formally announced his candidacy.

Meanwhile, some of the minority Co-operatista Deputies have resigned and have announced that they will organize a new party for General Calles, to be known as the Co-operatista Revolucionario. Intense partisan feeling in the Chamber of Deputies culminated on Oct. 3 in one Deputy being shot and in a fist battle between two other Deputies. This was followed by a circular letter from President Obregon to all his "assistants, regardless of rank," urging them to exercise impartiality during the present political campaign and to assist in guaranteeing to all citizens of the republic the free exercise of the suffrage.

Three other avowed candidates for the Presidency are General Angel Flores, former Governor of Sinaloa; General Raoul Madero, brother of former President Francisco Madero; and Licenciado Carlos B. Zetina, a manufacturer of Mexico City.

Recent State elections have resulted in numerous contests. In San Luis Potosi, neither of two rival Legislatures and neither of two functioning Governors, because of alleged election irregularities, have been recognized by the Federal Government. In Nuevo Leon, in addition to two rival Governors, a Provisional Governor backed by Federal troops has recently been installed. In Queretaro the contest has been settled by the Federal Government recognizing Ramirez Luque as Governor. Because Guanajuato was the only State in which an election contest did not develop, President Obregon and several members of his Cabinet have accepted an invitation to attend the inauguration of General Enrique Colima as Governor.

Mexico has expressed an unwillingness to enter the League of Nations, on the ground that diplomatic relations have not been resumed with England. Of scarcely less interest was the complete severance by Mexico on Sept. 30 of diplomatic relations with Venezuela. The specific grievance, as opposed to a long standing ill-feeling between the two countries, was the refusal of Venezuelan authorities to allow certain Mexican nationals to land at La Guayra.

From Washington announcement has been made that the United States will not name an Ambassador to Mexico until the claims conventions signed in September have been ratified.

The United States State Department has been asked by the Mexican Embassy in Washington for further information with respect to the action of the Mayor of Johnstown, Pa., in ordering all Mexicans of less than seven years' residence to leave that city.

On the economic side, plans are maturing for the Banco Unico, or the new bank of issue for

Mexico. Definite announcement has been made that 51 per cent. of the bank's capitalization will be held by the Mexican Government.

At a recent meeting of stockholders of the National Railways of Mexico twelve directors, resident in Mexico, and nine resident in the United States were elected. At the same time approval was given to the Lamont-de la Huerta agreement, which provides for the early return of the roads to private management after having been operated by the Government since 1913.

Salina Cruz and Puerto Mexico, the Pacific and Gulf termini, respectively, of the Tehuantepec Railway, have been officially declared free ports by the Mexican Government. This is the first move on the part of Mexico to compete for trade by way of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec with the Panama Canal route.

Recent statistics show that Mexico is now producing one-fifth of the world's output of lead and copper, or about \$43,000,000 worth annually.

During the nine month period ending Sept. 31, the port of Laredo, Texas, came to rank second to the port of New York in the exportation of merchandise from the United States into Mexico. During that period \$21,500,000 worth of merchandise passed into Mexico through the port of Laredo.

A recent Presidential decree authorizes any Mexican without land and unable to purchase it, to acquire Government-owned lands for farming purposes. Title is to pass to the person who works the land for two consecutive years, on condition that the land cannot be disposed of to foreigners or to landed Mexicans and that the Government retains control of the subsoil.

Labor agitators are charged with the responsibility for 4,000 employes of the American Smelting and Refining Company going on a strike at Chihuahua City on Sept. 19. In August the differences between the company and the laborers apparently had been satisfactorily adjusted.

Concessions have been granted by the Secretariat of Agriculture to a large number of Australian colonists to engage in the cultivation of the silk worm.

According to Enrique Corona of the Department of Public Instruction, Mexico has 8,000,000 illiterates, of whom 4,000,000 speak only Indian dialects. In view of this situation it is estimated that Mexico needs at the present time at least 7,000 new public schools.

En route to the penitentiary, where he was to begin serving his twenty-year term for the murder of Francisco Villa, Salas Barrazas enjoyed virtually a triumphant procession. Petitions urging his pardon are being circulated.

CENTRAL AMERICA

AS in the case of Mexico, heated Presidential campaigns are in progress in two of the Central American republics. In Honduras, where the popular elections were scheduled for Oct. 28, 29 and 30, political excitement bordered on the revolutionary stage. Two Liberal candidates, Dr. Juan Angel Arias and Dr. Policarpo Bonilla, have offered; the former according to recent Washington dispatches, has the support of the present Administration headed by Lopez Gutierrez, although during the Summer Bonilla was generally conceded to be the choice of the Government. The candidate of the Conservatives, or National Democratic Party, is General Tiburcio Carias, who is generally conceded to have strong enough support to assure him a plurality of the popular vote. Recently, however, the office of El Cronista, one of the leading Carias newspapers, was raided by Government forces, while the editor took refuge, with other Carias supporters, in Nicaragua. Efforts of American Minister Morales to induce the party leaders to agree upon some common ground or upon some mutually satisfactory candidate have been approved by the Conservatives but not by the Liberals. The disapproval of the plan by the Liberals is doubtless explained in part by the fact that since no candidate can hope to obtain a majority of the popular vote, the election will by law then be thrown to Congress, and in that body as early as Aug. 1 Dr. Arias had a majority of one pledged to support him in such a contingency.

In Costa Rica, where the elections are scheduled for early December, the candidates are ex-President Ricardo Jimenez, candidate of the Republican Party; Licenciado Alberto Echandi, candidate of the agriculturists, and General Jorge Volio, an ex-priest and a Reformista, or radical. Under the constitution of Costa Rica the President must be of secular estate and, because General Volio has not been relieved of his clerical vows, his enemies are making capital of this against him. No governmental or judicial ruling has been given on the situation.

In Honduras the school teachers and other State employes, with the exception of policemen and a few of the higher Government officials, have not had their salaries for over eight months.

In the latter part of September the republic of El Salvador negotiated a loan of \$6,000,000 from New York bankers. As an index of the efficient administration in El Salvador is the fact that the national income during the past Summer exceeded for the first time in many years its expenditures.

An import duty for revenue amounting to 1 per cent. gold per kilo on the gross weight of merchandise entering the country by sea has been imposed by the Government of El Salvador.

Recent statistics of the United States Consulate General at San Salvador show that only seventy-two citizens of the United States are registered as residents of El Salvador.

El Salvador is jubilant over the contract calling for completion within three years of the Pan-American Railroad from Santa Ana, El Salvador, to Zacapa, Guatemala. When completed, this road will place San Salvador within five days of New Orleans, whereas the combined water and rail journey between the two places now takes from ten to fifteen days.

The Nicaraguan Minister to the United States, General Emiliano Chamorro, has returned to his country in the interest of a proposed loan of \$9,000,000 by American bankers for the construction of a railroad to run from the Atlantic seaboard at Bluefields to the Pacific seaboard at Granada.

PANAMA AND THE CANAL ZONE

SHIPS passing through the Panama Canal the first two weeks in September totaled 212. Tolls collected from them represented a decrease over the corresponding period in July and August.

Canal workers in their fight to prevent the Canal Administration from deducting from their wages money for rent, electric current, water and the upkeep of their houses, have, through their attorneys, appealed from the adverse decision of the lower courts to the Supreme Court of the United States.

The Panama Chamber of Commerce, in opposing the lease or sale of commissaries in the Canal Zone, has protested to President Coolidge that this would infringe upon Panama's treaty rights and be the equivalent of the establishment of a monopoly.

THE CARIBBEAN

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

IN Cuba during the past month the Tarafa bill has continued to agitate American interests. On Sept. 22 the bill, after originally passing the Cuban House, was, by vote of 15 to 4, amended by the Senate. These amendments, designed to eliminate certain monopolistic and confiscatory provisions, provide that after the proposed holding company has begun the consolidation of the Cuban railroads the lines shall institute a 20 per cent. rate reduction on the base charge for carrying sugar more than 125 kilometers, and that a reduction of 30 per cent. shall be made in transporting the mail. These Senate amendments were concurred in by the House on Sept. 25 by a vote of 92 to 7, the bill then going to President Zayas for action. On Oct. 2, officials of American sugar interests are reported again to have filed protest with the American State Department because of alleged monopolistic provisions still in the bill with respect to railways, sugar mills and public warehouses. Despite these protests and previous assurances that it would give full consideration to the representations of American interests. President Zayas signed the bill on Oct. 9.

Since its organization in August, the Veterans and Patriots' Association has conducted a formidable campaign against public graft and the Tarafa bill, and in favor of the abolition of the national lottery, woman's suffrage and the payment of long-deferred pensions to war veterans. At the daily meetings held in Havana the possibility of revolution in case their demands were not complied with is alleged to have been hinted at by various speakers, and the President of the organization, General Garcia-Velez, frequently intimated that he might be unable to restrain the members should they continue to be

"flouted by the President." President Zayas, on the other hand, consistently countered all the charges by insisting that most of the matters were for Congress to pass upon. As a climax to the situation, on Sept. 20, approximately twenty leaders of the association were arrested on charges of sedition, although General Garcia-Velez and two other leaders eluded the officers. On Sept. 22 President Zayas announced immunity from arrest for the absent leaders if they would return to the capital, but General Garcia-Velez let it be known that he and his associates had no intention of accepting the same at its face value and instead issued warnings to the other leaders to stay away from Havana. The men arrested on Sept. 20 were later released on their own recognizance.

Carlos Mendieta, candidate for the Liberal Party nomination for the Presidency, has announced in favor of the reforms sought by the Veterans and Patriots' Association without having actively allied himself with that organization. Mendieta, who is opposing General Gerardo Machado for his party nomination, has also heartily endorsed the policies of American Ambassador Crowder. The latter has been referred to by Mendieta as a better friend to Cuba than is President Zayas.

On Sept. 17, two American aviators, Lieutenants Ford Rogers of Waco, Texas, and Horace Palmer of Athens, Ohio, reached Port-au-Prince, Haiti, in the first lap of their proposed flight from Santo Domingo to the Pacific Coast by way of Cuba. On Oct. 9 the aviators reached Muskogee, Okla., without mishap.

The Haitian Ministry, for alleged personal rather than political grievances, on Sept. 27 resigned in a body. The resignations were accepted by the President of the republic, who at once appointed a new Ministry, headed by M. Donique.

SOUTH AMERICA

By HARRY T. COLLINGS

Professor of Economics, University of Pennsylvania

UNUSUAL interest has been manifested in South American affairs during the past month because of the criticism of the United States on the part of Dr. Zeballos, former Secretary of Foreign Relations in Argentina. Dr. Zeballos, with almost brutal frankness, declared that the United States was more unpopular than ever because of the outcome of the Fifth Pan-American Conference, held last March in Chile, and particularly because the United States sent a naval commission to Brazil. Perhaps the failure of the armament limitation arrangement for the A B C countries of South America had something to do with dissatisfaction in Argentina. For the failure of that program the United States could not be held responsible. Thoughtful Americans, nevertheless, have questioned the advisability of sending the commission to Brazil. In a speech delivered on Sept. 26 at Lafayette, Ind., Bishop W. P. Thirkield of Mexico and South America declared it to be a far-reaching blunder that threatened the peace of the South American republics.

It is also a matter of interest that our trade with South America is showing a remarkable increase. Figures recently published by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, showing our Latin American trade for the first eight months of this year, indicate a gain of one-third over the same period of last year, in the value of exports to Latin America up to Sept. 1, and a gain of 43 per cent. in the value of goods imported into the United States from Latin America in that same period. Officials of the bureau have recently called attention to the fact that American exporters are apparently neglecting European trade and giving undue attention to trade with Latin America, especially in South America.

ARGENTINA

ON Oct. 4 announcement was made of the death of Dr. Estanislao Zeballos, mentioned above. Death came as he was on his way to London to attend meetings of the International Law Association, of which he had just been elected President. Dr. Zeballos, a jurist of international repute, was Ambassador from Argentina in Washington from 1893 to 1895. He delivered a series of lectures at the Institute of Politics held in Williamstown, Mass., last Summer, and had recently completed an extended lecture tour in Canada and the United States.

General business conditions in Argentina have changed little during the past month. Unfa-

vorable exchange rates with the United States have handicapped importation, but exports show improvement. Agricultural prospects are excellent, grain prices are steadier and farming interests look for a prosperous year. The Argentine budget for 1923 was the largest in the history of the republic, exceeding that of last year by 70,000,000 paper pesos (1 peso equals about \$0.325 at present rate). Out of a total of more than 638,000,000 paper pesos, the Government proposed to expend 300,000,000 for railway extensions, 30,000,000 on modernizing the fleet and 20,000,000 for oil refineries. The budget proposes expenditures of about 100,000,000 in excess of the largest volume of revenues ever collected.

Argentina and Uruguay have for some time been leaders in advanced labor legislation. A provision of the 1923 Argentine budget requires that every employe over 18 years of age, without distinction of sex, who works at least eight hours a day in Government service or in other occupation, must receive at least 160 pesos per month, or 6.40 pesos per day, not more than 40 per cent. of which sum may be deducted for board and lodging. The increase in the expenses of national hospitals and charity institutions, caused by this minimum wage provision, is to be covered by additional appropriations from the general revenues. A special investigation recently made by the National Department of Labor shows that the eight-hour day was generally in force in Buenos Aires during 1922. The average day's labor of the shop and factory was eight hours and two minutes. A recent report of this same bureau shows that since the passage of the Workmen's Compensation act of 1916 the number of policies has increased from 7,472 to 47,292, and the premiums paid from 2,500,000 pesos to almost 12,000,000.

American bankers have agreed to take up within six months after Sept. 1 approximately \$60,000,000 of the Argentine bond issue recently authorized by the Argentine Congress. The syndicate takes over the issue at 92. It is to bear interest at 6 per cent. and to run for thirty-three years. Serious criticism of Finance Minister Vegas arose in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies because of certain elastic terms in this agreement.

BRAZIL

BRAZIL had a favorable balance of 74,684,000 milreis (approximately \$7,000,000) in its Treasury at the end of June, 1923, according to a statement of the Minister of Finance. An

earlier statement showed that for the first three months of this year there was a balance of approximately \$400,000 in the Treasury, the first time in twenty-two years that the Government had reported a favorable balance. The last month has shown increased activity in building and construction. Congress recently asked for funds to buy 200 freight cars for the Central Railroad of Brazil, and the Eastern Brazil Railroad Company of Bahia has been authorized to spend 11,000,000 milreis (over a million dollars) in extending its lines. The country has recently discussed the advisability of placing a \$25,000,000 loan in New York to be secured by coffee as collateral.

CHILE

THE close of the war affected the demand for Chilean goods as it did that for the exports of other countries. Chile, however, has had a special problem in that the foreign demand for nitrate, which constitutes a considerable part of Chilean exports, became negligible as compared to the demand during the period 1914-19. As a result the country faced an industrial crisis. An advance of 7.50 pesos national currency per 46 kilos of nitrate ready for embarkation was granted to nitrate producers who kept their plants open. Unemployment, decreased exports and imports immediately affected the scale of living.

Statistics now available for the first half of 1923 show a decided improvement in the industrial life of the country. The nitrate industry is improving and the prosperity of the metal trades in the United States has resulted in increasing the demand for Chilean copper.

The Chilean Government desires two months additional time to prepare the arguments in the Tacna-Arica territorial dispute with Peru. This report, as well as that of Peru, was to have been presented to the President of the United States as arbiter on Sept. 12. The Chileans have completed the argument, but desire to give the American legal advisers whom they have engaged more time to study all its phases.

COLOMBIA

THE commission of experts engaged by the Colombian Government to make an economic survey of the country and suggest appropriate legislation for the improvement of its finances, returned to the United States early in September. This commission, which was headed by Dr. E. W. Kemmerer, Professor of Economics at Princeton University, was tendered a farewell banquet in Bogota by President Nel Ospina. During their six months' stay in the republic the commission reorganized the financial system of the country. The banking system was unified, a Bank of the Republic established, and taxation laws formulated. The commission advised against the borrowing of \$50,000,000 for transportation and other improvements, on the ground that the country could not maintain service on such a loan. They advised borrowing but little more than half that sum. The newly organized Bank of the Republic began to function earlier than was expected and proved very beneficial in averting a financial crisis when the Banco Lopez failed in July. Part of the first payment of \$50,000,000 made by the United States to Colombia was used in establishing the bank. This is to be the only bank of issue in the future. Notes of other banks have proved unsatisfactory and will be retired.

A serious outbreak of yellow fever in the Bucaramanga Valley, some 450 miles up the



Publishers Photo Service

La Paz, the capital of Bolivia

Magdalena River, caused apprehension on the part of the Colombian Government. The United States instituted a quarantine against all ports north of Barranquilla. Later reports state that the disease has disappeared.

PERU

THE Senate and Chamber of Deputies have voted to amend the Constitution of the republic so as to permit the re-election of a President. The Constitution provides that any amendment must be approved by two regular

sessions of the Legislatures. As the legislative session of 1922 approved this amendment, it is now law. President Leguia is eligible, therefore, as a candidate for re-election in 1924.

A project has been transmitted to the Peruvian Congress to create a national defense fund with an annual expenditure of \$1,100,000. A considerable portion of the money is to be spent in re-conditioning the Peruvian Navy. A new tax on cablegrams from Peru and a cocoa monopoly are proposed to supply the additional revenue.

CONTEMPORARY HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

[PUBLISHED DURING THE MONTH OF OCTOBER, 1923]

THE VEILED EMPRESS, by Benjamin A. Morton, 243 pages; published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York; price \$5. A colorful narrative, an "unacademic biography," revealing the mystery of the French girl of Martinique, who was shipwrecked and taken to Constantinople in 1784, and who became Crown of the Veiled Heads, and, telling the story for the first time of how her son, Sultan Mahmoud, broke the power of Napoleon and destroyed the Janissaries. Illustrations from paintings by Christina Morton.

ECONOMICS OF THE HOUR, by J. St. Loe Strachey, 234 pages; published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York; price \$2.50. A discussion in clear, conversational English by the editor of *The Spectator*, on present-day economic problems and the relation of labor to capital.

RUSSIA'S WOMEN, by Nina Nikolaevna Selivanova, 226 pages; published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York; price \$3. This account of Russia's women since primitive times, intimately entertaining, reveals the spirit of that nation. It is written to inform the American public of the background of the Russian, and to encourage a closer understanding between the peoples.

THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS II. AS I KNEW HIM, by Major Gen. Sir John Hanbury-Williams, K. C. B., K. C. V. O., C. M. G., Chief of the British Military Mission in Russia, 1914-1917, 269 pages; published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York; price \$6. An intimate view of the royal family, the Grand Duke Nicholas and many others of the Russian Court and Army, gathered in diary form during the author's official mission to Russia. He gives some startling refutations of accepted reports about the Emperor and his court, and some new stories about European diplomacy during the war.

THE IRRESISTIBLE MOVEMENT OF DEMOCRACY, by John Simpson Penman, 729 pages; published

by Macmillan Company, New York; price \$5. A narration of the progress of democracy in England, France and the United States up to the present day, emphasizing the growing importance of public opinion and the increasing power of the common people.

INDIA IN A FERMENT, by Claude H. Van Tyne, Ph. D., head of department of history, University of Michigan; 8vo; published by Macmillan Company, New York; price \$2. Dr. Van Tyne visited India from border to border in search of information, and has presented a comprehensive survey of the Government wherever it touched the people. He went into courts, high and low, and accompanied local officials into villages. This is an unbiased story by a trained observer.

CHINA, YESTERDAY AND TODAY, by Edward Thomas Williams; published by Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 597 pages, with colored maps of China and Japan. The volume is the result of the personal experiences and observations in thirty-five years of close association with Chinese affairs by Professor Williams of the department of Oriental languages and literature of the University of California. It is copiously illustrated, comprehensive, beginning in the earliest authentic history and reaching down to the end of 1922, with special attention to the profound social and political transformations which have occurred in China within the last twelve years.

WORLD HISTORY, by Hutton Webster; published by D. C. Heath & Co., New York; 775 pages of text, 100 maps, 50 full-page plates; price \$5. It covers the entire historical field, with a chapter on pre-historic times. Nearly 500 pages are devoted to the last three centuries. The style is clear; the illustrations are of interest. It is not a textbook, but was written for the general reader.

DEATHS OF PERSONS OF PROMINENCE

[MONTH ENDED OCTOBER 16, 1923]

SIR CHARLES HAWTREY, English actor, July 29.

PRINCE FABRIZIO COLONNA, Vice President of the Italian Senate, at Rome, Aug. 9.

RALPH PUMPELLY, geologist and author, at Newport, R. I., Aug. 10, aged 85.

CARDINAL RICHELMY, Archbishop of Turin, Italy, at Turin, Aug. 10, aged 73.

JOAQUIN SOROLLA, Spanish painter, at Madrid, Aug. 10, aged 60.

MAJOR COUNT ESTERHAZY, confessed author of the forged document on which Captain Alfred Dreyfus was convicted of treason, at Harpenden, England, in May, 1923; he was living under the name of Count de Voilement.

KATE DOUGLAS WIGGIN, writer on child life and kindergarten methods, at London, Aug. 24, aged 66.

PRINCESS PARLAGHY, portrait painter, at New York, Aug. 29, aged 59.

PRINCESS ANASTASIA OF GREECE (formerly Mrs. William B. Leeds, born Nannie May Stevart, at Cleveland, Ohio), at London, Aug. 29, aged 46.

PRINCE MASAYOSHI MATSUKATA, former Premier of Japan, PRINCE YAMASHINA and PRINCESS KAYA of Japan from injuries sustained in the Japanese earthquake.

EDWARD P. DUTTON, founder of the publishing house of E. P. Dutton & Co., at Ridgefield, Conn., Sept. 6, aged 92.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, historian and an Overseer of Harvard University at Cambridge, Mass., Sept. 7, aged 64.

MARSHAL HERMES DODRIGUEZ DA FONSECA, former President of Brazil, at Rio Janeiro, Sept. 10, aged 55.

SIGMUND LUBIN, a pioneer in moving pictures, at Atlantic City, N. J., Sept. 11, aged 72.

THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, at Stud'ey Royal, Yorkshire, England, Sept. 22, aged 71.

VISCOUNT (JOHN) MORLEY OF BLACKBURN, British statesman and man of letters, at London, Sept. 23, aged 84.

OSCAR BROWNING, English historian and educator, at Rome, Oct. 6, aged 86.

DR. BERNARDINO MOSEQUERA, former Venezuelan Minister of Foreign Affairs at Paris, Oct. 2, aged 68.

COUNT CHARLES DE LESSEPS, son of Viscount Ferdinand de Lesseps, builder of the Suez Canal, at Paris, Oct. 2, aged 82.

A. S. FREIDUS, head of the Jewish literature division, New York Public Library, at New York, Oct. 4, aged 56.

KYO KUMASAKI, Japanese Consul General at New York, former Consul at Moscow, at Tokio, Oct. 3.

REV. DR. WILTON MERLE-SMITH, President of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, at New York, Oct. 3, aged 64.

PIERRE MALI, Belgian Consul General, at Plainfield, N. J., Oct. 4, aged 65.

DR. ESTANISLOA SEVERO ZEBALLOS, Argentine statesman and jurist, on Oct. 4, at Liverpool, England, while en route to London to preside at the meetings of the International Law Association; he was lecturer at the Institute of Politics at Williamstown, Mass., last Summer.

DR. FRANCIS GOODWIN, eminent among the Episcopal clergy of the Diocese of Connecticut, at Hartford, Oct. 5, aged 84.

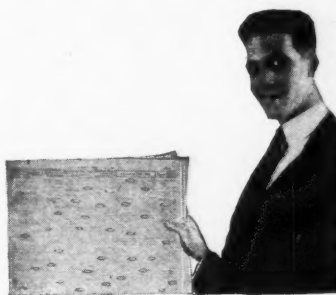
DR. HUGH HAMILTON, physician, historian and author, at Harrisburg, Pa., Oct. 7, aged 76.



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reaction	eminent	brutal	command
conservative	national	police	moral
tendency	class	capitalist	revolution
illustrate	energetic	administration	conspire
contraction	industrial	inspection	conference
theory	interest	problem	delegate
absolute	organization	commissioner	historical
dictator	department	naturally	consequence
political	creature	liberal	ideal
social	confiscate	aspiration	action
ethical	character	aristocracy	agitation
practical	person	element	imperial
ignore	demonstration	constellation	situation



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Current History Chronicles

Continued from Front Advertising Section

trol and less pre-occupation with sex than her forebears. Freedom does not mean license to the Northern woman. It means more cleanliness, increased mentality and greater self-reliance. It means a better mother, not an unchaste mother. At least this is an opinion of a woman who is not dealing with New York primarily, but with 500,000 women, more or less scattered through the East, South and West. If these women have a passion, it is a passion for the things that make for race survival, not the things that make for race degeneracy. This motif is somewhat lacking in New York, where many races and many ideas jostle each other, and where primitive principles get blurred; but no blurring of the primitive Teutonic principle of chastity is yet apparent in the country as a whole, nor do I believe that the modern business girl is headed toward this blurring. Quite otherwise!

* * *

Captain Elbridge Colby, U. S. A., a valued contributor to THE CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, has an article in this issue in which he draws comparisons between the size of the army of the United States and the armies of foreign countries, maintaining that it discloses a lack of preparedness by this country which he compares with the failure of an individual to take out sufficient insurance. He accompanies his article with interesting charts and diagrams which might convince one who believes in peaceful methods in the settlement of international disputes that he demonstrates by these figures not that our country's military establishment is too small, but that the European nations have establishments entirely too large, and that the peace of the world demands that they should be reduced to the ratio existing in the United States.

* * *

August Frillienau, director of the playground at Göteborg, Sweden, writes to the Editor with reference to the article on playgrounds which appeared in the August number of THE CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. He corrects the statement that the first European playground was founded in Bethel, France, in the Spring of 1921. He states that "the movement for building and maintaining public playgrounds was started in Göteborg as far back as March, 1901, when a society collecting funds through fixed annual subscriptions for members was formed. This society still exists and during the years from 1901 to 1922 opened no fewer than eleven playgrounds in and around Göteborg. There is a public playground in nearly every town in Sweden and even in the little hamlets. Physical exercise is an obligatory part of school education, and a considerable amount of money is spent every year both by the public and by private individuals for the purpose of physical training among Swedish youth."

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUG. 24, 1912, OF

Current History

Published monthly at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1923.
State of New York, County of New York, ss.:

Before me, a notary public in and for the state and county aforesaid, personally appeared Adolph S. Ochs, who, having been duly sworn according to law, depose and says that he is the publisher of CURRENT HISTORY, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of Aug. 24, 1912, embodied in Section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business manager are:
Publisher—Adolph S. Ochs, The Times, New York, N. Y.
Editor—George W. Ochs Oakes, The Times, New York, N. Y.
Managing Editor—Francis Haffkine Snow, The Times, New York, N. Y.
Business Manager—George W. Ochs Oakes, The Times, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is:

Owner—The New York Times Company.

Stockholders holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of stock:

Adolph S. Ochs, controlling stockholder, The Times, New York, N. Y.; Charles R. Miller Estate, The Times, New York, N. Y.; Elisabeth Luther Cary, The Times, New York, N. Y.; Carr V. Van Anda, The Times, New York, N. Y.; Louis Wiley, The Times, New York, N. Y.; Estate of John Norris, The Times, New York, N. Y.; Iphigene Ochs Sulzberger, The Times, New York, N. Y.; Effie Wise Ochs Trust, The Times, New York, N. Y.; Julius Ochs Adler, The Times, New York, N. Y.; Arthur Hays Sulzberger, The Times, New York, N. Y.; Jeanet E. L. Sullivan, 154 East 74th St., New York, N. Y.; John G. Agar, New Rochelle, N. Y.; Annie M. McClymonds, Morris Plains, N. J.; Madge D. Miller, 635 Park Ave., New York, N. Y.; Hoyt Miller, 635 Park Ave., New York, N. Y.; Katrina Trask Estate, Saratoga Springs, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are:

None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders, who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustee, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this second day of October, 1923.

[Seal.]

Notary Public, New York County, No. 24, New York Register's No. 4168, Commission expires March 30, 1924. Arnold Sanchez,

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